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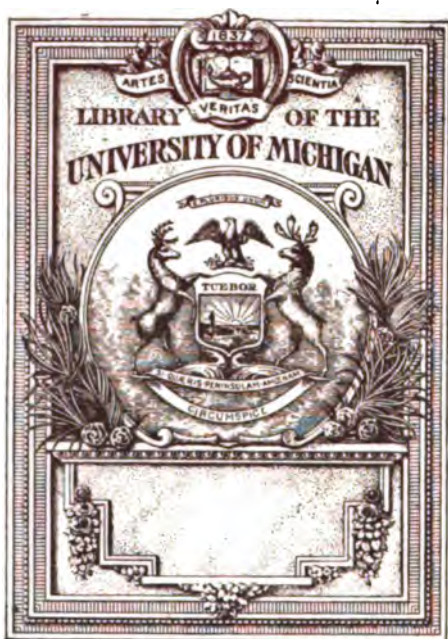
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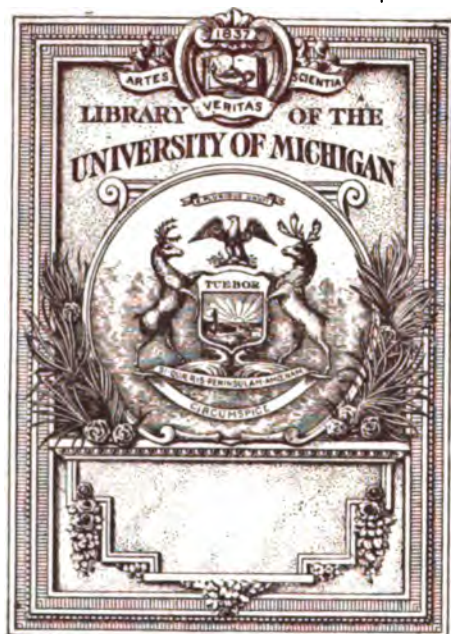
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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN
SOCIETY

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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
American Antiquarian Society

NEW SERIES, VOL. 28.

APRIL 10, 1918—OCTOBER 16, 1918.



WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS, U. S. A.
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY
1919

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WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS

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NEW SERIES

PART 1

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
American Antiquarian Society

AT THE
SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING HELD IN BOSTON

APRIL 10, 1918



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NOTE.

The twenty-eighth volume of the present series contains the records of the Proceedings of April 10 and October 16, 1918.

The reports of the Council have been presented by Worthington Chauncey Ford and Waldo Lincoln.

Papers have been received from Herman Vandenburg Ames, Charles Edwards Park, Alexander George McAdie, Albert Bushnell Hart, William Lawrence Clements, and James Rodway.

The volume contains the ninth and tenth installments of the Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820, covering the States of New York, M-W and North Carolina, prepared by Clarence Saunders Brigham. Obituary notices of the following deceased members appear in this volume: Henry Adams, Hubert Howe Bancroft, Eugene Frederick Bliss, Edmund Arthur Engler, William DeLoss Love, Charles Card Smith, Charles Stuart Vedder, Edmund Mills Barton, Austin Samuel Garver, Herbert Levi Osgood, and Federico González Suárez.

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XIV

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XVI

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October, 1901.

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XXI

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October, 1906.

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NEW SERIES

PART 1

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
American Antiquarian Society
AT THE
ANNUAL MEETING HELD IN BOSTON
APRIL 10, 1918



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PROCEEDINGS.

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL 10, 1918, IN THE HOUSE OF
THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES,
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

The semi-annual meeting of the Society was held on Wednesday, April 10, 1918, in the House of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, No. 28 Newbury Street, Boston, Massachusetts. The meeting was called to order at half past ten o'clock, President Lincoln in the chair.

There were present:

Andrew McFarland Davis, Reuben Colton, Henry Herbert Edes, Augustus George Bullock, William Eaton Foster, George Henry Haynes, Arthur Lord, Charles Lemuel Nichols, Waldo Lincoln, Edward Sylvester Morse, George Parker Winship, Austin Samuel Garver, Albert Matthews, Clarence Winthrop Bowen, Daniel Berkeley Updike, Clarence Saunders Brigham, Lincoln Newton Kinnicutt, Franklin Pierce Rice, Frederick Jackson Turner, Henry Ernest Woods, Julius Herbert Tuttle, Charles Grenfill Washburn, Wilfred Harold Munro, Justin Harvey Smith, Herman Vandenberg Ames, Henry Winchester Cunningham, Albert Bushnell Hart, Barrett Wendell, Herbert Edwin Lombard, Howard Millar Chapin, Samuel Eliot Morison, Grenville Howland Norcross, Otis Grant Hammond, John Whittemore Farwell, Henry Bradford Washburn, Charles Edwards Park.

The call for the meeting being read, the records of the last meeting were read and approved. The Report of the Council, prepared by Worthington C. Ford, was then read and approved.

Mr. Morse in referring to the matter of newspaper preservation mentioned in the Council Report suggested that if special copies of the newspapers were printed on thin paper, like that used in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, their preservation would be more certain. Mr. Lincoln stated that the *Brooklyn Eagle* had tried the experiment of printing a special edition on high grade paper but that it had proved too expensive. He said that the Society had solved the problem, so far as its own collection was concerned, by filing the papers, when received, in a dark room, where they are laid flat on shelves and bound as soon as practicable. If the paper is kept from air and light, there is no reason why it should not be preserved indefinitely.

The election of new members being next in order, Messrs. Winship and Colton were appointed to collect and count the ballots. They reported the election of the following:

James Kendall Hosmer, Minneapolis, Minn.
Robert Hendre Kelby, New York, N. Y.
Theodore Roosevelt, Oyster Bay, N. Y.
John Woodbury, Boston, Mass.

The Council recommended the following change in the By-Laws:—That the first sentence of the fourth paragraph of Article 7, which reads, "Every new member residing in the United States shall pay an admission fee of five dollars, and all members residing in New England shall pay an annual fee of five dollars" be amended to read, "All members residing in New England shall pay an annual fee of five dollars." This amendment to the By-Laws was voted upon and passed.

There being no further business the Society listened to the paper by Dr. Herman Vandenberg Ames, of

Philadelphia, on "John C. Calhoun and the Secession Movement of 1850." In the discussion that followed, Mr. Charles G. Washburn said that no epoch in our history, nor the attitude of our public men upon constitutional questions, could be fully understood without knowing what were regarded at the time as the economic necessities of the country and of the different sections within it; continuing, he said that the real cause of the Revolution was to be found quite as much in the discontent of the colonies with legislative attempts of the Mother Country to smother any effort to establish manufactures here as in irritating measures of taxation—and that the adoption of the Federal Constitution was made possible by the influence of the manufacturers, mechanics, and trades people. The War of 1812 was unpopular in New England because our chief interest then was in commerce. The interests of New England at first made Mr. Webster a free trader and the interests of the South at first made Mr. Calhoun a protectionist. When the cotton gin was invented and the South no longer needed any duty on cotton, Calhoun became a free trader. When New England began to develop her manufacturing interests, Webster became a protectionist, and voted for the "Tariff of Abominations" in 1828, and a little later South Carolina put forth the famous Exposition and Protest containing Mr. Calhoun's Doctrine of Nullification. The South, because of what was regarded as an economic necessity, re-asserted the doctrine of nullification, foreshadowed in the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions and finally supported it by arms in 1861. It would be no exaggeration to say that the invention of the cotton gin caused the Civil War.

Mr. Justin H. Smith related an anecdote in connection with the Civil War, showing that the southern soldiers, in case the South was victorious, were ready to put down discord by force of arms.

Rev. Charles E. Park read an interesting paper on "The Part that Friendship played in the Settlement of Massachusetts."

Mr. George Parker Winship spoke informally upon "John Eliot and the New England Company," saying that he had been called upon by the President only a few days before to fill a vacancy in the program. In part he spoke as follows:—

John Eliot was the cause, or one might almost say, the excuse, for the organization of what is now the oldest and the richest Protestant missionary society. His abortive efforts to convert the Massachusetts Indians to the ways of sixteenth century English Puritanism furnished the essential incentive, and the church-going merchants of the city of London, and the women of their families, contributed a large endowment. This was carefully invested, and the income is still being expended for the purposes specified in the original charter of 1649.

Eliot's personal devotion to his work, and his clear and definite appreciation of how this work ought to be conducted, amply justify the high place which has been accorded him among New England worthies. The spirit of unqualified self-sacrifice with which he gave himself up to the welfare of the American natives was not quite strong enough, however, to carry him over the period of fruitless drudgery which, as almost always, followed close on the inspiring period of organization and installation. The temptations of the theoretical, after he became assured of what was virtually a pension, overcame his more youthful absorption in the practical means of converting the aborigines to the routine of civilized life.

During the prosperous decade that followed the "Great Emigration" to Boston, there was talk, and some raising of money, for the neighboring heathen.

But when, after 1640, the yearly influx of new settlers very nearly ceased, and those who decided to remain in New England found that they would have to depend upon their own and the country's resources, local interest in the heathen, as possible Christians, began to die out. It was revived largely by the efforts of Eliot. Whether Eliot's letters to his friends in England led them to send him money, or he was stimulated by the gifts sent by charitable persons who were anxious to do good, is not clear. What is certain is that gifts were received, and that the amount was large enough to arouse jealousy. This was manifested in reports which were circulated in Puritan circles in London, to the effect that the money sent to New England for the conversion of the natives was not producing any results.

The rumors worried Edward Winslow, who was staying in London as the official representative of the Massachusetts colony. The need of ready money in New England was very great, and Winslow was anxious that there should not be any lessening of the amount sent over, for whatever purpose. Winslow was as able a representative as America has ever had near the Court of St. James, and one proof of this is the skill with which he transformed a threatened loss into a very considerable addition to the visible cash in the hands of Boston merchants. He persuaded Parliament, during the distracting months that preceded the execution of King Charles I, to grant a charter for a "Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians," and to supplement this by an order directing that subscriptions should be raised for the support of the Society in every parish in England. Within the next five years the Corporation, as the Society in London was familiarly called, had secured money enough to purchase several city lots and two large estates in the country, besides sending several hundred pounds to New England, before its investments began to yield any

return. These holdings, and the men who controlled them, were of sufficient importance to withstand the attempts to cancel the charter, at the Restoration. The Society likewise weathered the crisis of 1688 and 1776, as well as intermittent periods when its honorary officials lost interest in its purposes. The original charter contained the phrase "New England and parts adjacent," and since 1776 the inhabitants of the region which the original donors desired to benefit have not received any of the income, but the Society has nevertheless continued to carry out the ostensible purposes for which it was created.

It was voted that these papers be referred to the Committee of Publication.

It was announced that at the close of the meeting the members of the Society would be entertained at luncheon by Mr. Grenville H. Norcross at the St. Botolph Club.

There being no further business, the meeting was dissolved.

CHARLES LEMUEL NICHOLS,
Recording Secretary.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

In the past six months the Society has lost six of its members: Edmund Arthur Engler, of St. Louis, who died January 16, 1918; Hubert Howe Bancroft, of San Francisco, who died March 2, 1918; Charles Card Smith, of Boston, who died March 20, 1918; Henry Adams, of Washington, D. C., who died March 27, 1918; Eugene Frederick Bliss, of Cincinnati, who died April 4, 1918; and William DeLoss Love, of Hartford, who died April 8, 1918.

The librarian reports that the accessions in the six months have been fewer than usual, due to a number of causes, but chiefly to the want of means. About one hundred volumes of miscellaneous newspapers have come in, but no files of unusual length or note, except about three hundred newspapers published in New York City before and during the War of Independence. About four hundred volumes of different papers published in Vermont between 1840 and 1900 have recently been received, but have not yet been examined, assorted and listed in such a way as to show how far they strengthen the newspapers of that State already in the Society.

A collection of some three hundred German periodicals dating between 1795 and 1818 have been exchanged with Harvard College Library for South American material. This German material had never been called for in more than fifty years, and properly belonged with a more general German collection in a more central location. Both institutions have gained by the exchange.

In books a notable gift has been received from the library of the late Frederick Lewis Gay, consisting

of between three and four hundred titles, and principally of early American imprints. These volumes have not yet been accessioned, but they contain some extremely valuable and interesting items. The well-assured judgment of Mr. Gay in collecting, his care in obtaining fine examples, and his intelligent appreciation of what was rare and historical, give ample promise of the quality of these books. To us they perpetuate the memory of a fellow member and active worker in early American history.

These thoughts suggested by the names and services of our late members are doubly enforced by actual conditions, public and societary. Each year shows the increasing cost of maintaining such collections as are possessed by this Society, and the increasing cost of extending them. Economy is enforced from the outside as well as from within, and the treasurer's reports prove how well economy is recognized by the management of the Society. It is incorrect to deplore a decadence in individual collections, for there are a larger number of collectors than at any previous time, even if the average of single collections tends to become of less size. The advent of a collection to the auction room gives it an identity and reputation which it hardly enjoyed in private ownership. Recall some of the great sales of the past—the Rice, Murphy, Menzies, Barlow, Brinley, and Hoe sales—important as they were they could not be compared to the sales of the Spenser or Huth books or the Phillips manuscripts. No one, interested in books, can go far without being impressed by the extent and nature of the quiet collecting in his experience, and by the possibilities of the future. If the smaller institutions are ruled out from competing for the wealth of good things offered, the private collector of means and intelligence accumulates and preserves, and in time passes on his holdings for dispersion, or as a memorial of his life interest by a deposit in a public institution. Mr. Gay is a case in point. This Society receives

from him as a gift what it could not buy, with the added feature of association with a member. Patience will bring its reward, and the Society can afford to wait upon a recognition of its usefulness on the part of the collector, whether a member or not. Its object must be to make itself worthy of selection as a depository and so invite confidence and generous treatment from those who have it in their power to benefit.

A consequence is a restriction in its collecting functions which will not unnecessarily compete with its own interests. Fortunately these functions have been so clearly defined in the past that little inconvenience from their recognition can arise in the future. To collect everything is today an evidence of weakness, and every effort should be bent on collecting in such lines as shall make the Society known for its specialties and as shall complement the specialties of other institutions. The American Antiquarian Society is already well known for its American imprints of the eighteenth century and for its newspaper collection. It has enjoyed such a start in these directions that no other institution—unless it is the Library of Congress—can compete with it in extent and variety. On the policy of increasing the line of imprints—the curious, the rare, and the useful—there can be no difference in opinion. Such material is still within the means of the Society and it invites gifts even of single pieces.

As to newspapers there can also be no doubt on the point of policy, but to carry it into effect involves difficult and costly problems of management. The papers of the colonial period were of excellent, quality homely in color, but strong and lasting, some that have seen little usage being as bright and crisp as on the day of issue. Even if they have suffered, modern methods of treatment will renew their lives with no damage to texture. The newspapers of the first half of the nineteenth century are also of good quality,

and when bound are as permanent as printed matter can well be. But those issued after 1870 have steadily degenerated in quality of paper and have long presented insuperable difficulties in the way of preservation. These difficulties need not be here repeated. Every librarian has met them, and in our Society, with its immense newspaper collections, it constitutes a true problem involving a continuance of its shining preëminence among collecting institutions. Today the situation is more acute than it ever was, and the solution of the problem is as distant.

For the newspaper has not only monopolized the news—its proper field—but it has drawn to itself the best of literature. Both magazines and publishers of books complain that the newspapers are more attractive to writers and pay more than they can afford, while their cheapness appeals to the readers. To the future historian the point is not without interest, and we are providing for his needs. Name some of the earlier newspapers which enjoy a wide reputation for what they contain—the *United States Gazette*, the *Aurora*, the *New York Evening Post* and the *National Intelligencer*—they are pigmies when set against the great journals of the day, and their four or six pages appear meagre when we glance at an issue of thirty-two pages on a week day or sixty pages on a Sunday. The power of the press has increased in even greater ratio, for it can make or unmake ministries, and embarrass government by exercising its criticism as a “knocker,” one who criticises recklessly or for some other purpose than to inform the public and to expose real dishonesty in government. Instead of circulating by the tens of thousands the leading journals count their sales by the quarter of a million and their readers by the million; and the old weekly which even in political excitement rarely attained a circulation of a hundred thousand, has been superseded by a weekly circulating each week many more than a million copies with

readers of uncountable extent. Important as the newspaper was in 1850, as a source of information, more or less accurate, it is of far greater moment in 1918 and tends to become of greater moment each year. And files can be preserved only by institutions—for no individual collects newspapers.

Yet this great treasury of information rests upon a foundation almost as light as air, for it is recorded on a paper which rapidly disintegrates whether used or not, whether bound or in sheets, whether sealed or exposed. A few hours in the sunlight irreparably injures the texture; exposed to sun and air, a neglect of a month reduces it to a condition in which it cannot be handled. And such it must be the chief task of this Society to collect and, if possible, preserve. Our American newspapers were offenders in this direction before the war, and war conditions have led to a further deterioration in quality. The same may be said of foreign journals, where the reduction in size has not compensated for the increasing difficulties in obtaining paper. The mere statement of the situation measures its acuteness and the obstacles to betterment. To the ordinary reader so much of the daily sheets seems unnecessary, the pages of advertisements, the discussions by the inexperienced and the local items of small note gathered from the world as news. If only the vital parts of the journal could be concentrated upon two or three pages, and not strung over pages, broken and buried by the advertisements or other necessities of the "make-up." Such pages mounted on manila paper would outlive the ordinary usage of a century; but who would undertake to select the matter to be thus preserved? Who could have the time, the patience and the intelligence? To reinforce the newspaper with crêpe-line would be too costly and unsatisfactory. Perhaps the photostat offers a remedy, for the essential parts could be reproduced by it and on a paper which still uses a percentage of rag high enough to

make it lasting. It is useless to ask the newspaper publishers to improve the quality of print paper; that quality is fixed by conditions beyond their control. The problem is one for this Society and its fellow societies, and we cannot pretend to be able even to suggest as yet a positive solution.

WORTHINGTON C. FORD,
For the Council.

OBITUARIES.

HENRY ADAMS.

Henry Adams was born in Boston, February 16, 1838, and died in Washington, March 27, 1918. In 1858 he was graduated from Harvard with the degree of A.B. From 1861 to 1868 he was private secretary to his father, Charles Francis Adams, who was minister from the United States to Great Britain. He was assistant professor of history at Harvard from 1870 to 1877, and editor of the *North American Review* from 1870 to 1876. In 1877 he removed to Washington, which has since been his residence, and devoted himself to historical studies and writings. Among his publications are "Documents Relating to New England Federalism, 1800-15"; "Life and Writings of Albert Gallatin," and his nine volume "History of the United States, 1801-1817." The honorary degree of LL.D. was conferred upon him by the Western Reserve University in 1892. He was honorary member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. He was elected a member of this Society in 1884, to which he has given many of his historical writings. He married, June 27, 1862, Miriam Hooper, who died December 6, 1885.

S. U.

HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT.

Hubert Howe Bancroft was born at Granville, Ohio, May 5, 1832, and died at Walnut Creek, near San Francisco, March 3, 1918. In 1848 he entered

the book-store of his brother-in-law in Buffalo, N. Y., and in 1856 he established a publishing house in San Francisco. He soon began collecting historical material relating to the Pacific coast, with the purpose of writing a history of the coast region of both North and South America. He acquired a great body of books, newspapers, maps, and documents and obtained hundreds of narratives dictated by pioneers. An elaborate system of card indexing made the collection accessible to himself and the scores of scholars and specialists who collaborated with him in producing his history. Finally, after many discouragements, in 1874 he brought out his first volume, and between that year and 1887 he published thirty-nine volumes relating to Alaska, British Columbia, the Pacific States, Mexico, Central America, and the South American coast. His "Literary Industries," issued in 1890, gives a most interesting account of his labors in producing this monumental work. In 1905 his entire library, numbering 60,000 volumes, became the property of the University of California. On October 17, 1876, he married Matilda Griffing of New Haven, Conn., who died in 1910. The honorary degree of A.M. was conferred upon him by Yale University in 1875. He was elected a member of this Society in 1875, and presented to it most of his printed works. At the time of his death he was second on the list in seniority of membership.

S. U.

EUGENE FREDERICK BLISS.

Eugene Frederick Bliss was born at Granville, N. Y., July 31, 1836, and died at Cincinnati, April 4, 1918. He was graduated from Harvard in 1858 with the degree of A.B., receiving the degree of A.M. in 1866. From 1863 to 1879 he taught a select school for boys at Cincinnati. Much of his life was spent in writing and historical research. He was especially interested in the work of the Historical and Phil-

osophical Society of Ohio, was its President from 1889 to 1897, and edited for it the "Diary of David Zeisberger, a Moravian Missionary among the Indians of Ohio," in two volumes. He was elected a member of this Society in 1892 and contributed to its Proceedings two papers, "Dr. Saugrain's Relation of his Voyage down the Ohio River, 1788," April, 1897, and "Dr. Saugrain's Note-books," October, 1908; also an obituary sketch of Robert Clarke, the old bookseller, in October, 1899. To the Centennial Fund he donated \$1000. Mr. Bliss was unmarried.

S. U.

EDMUND ARTHUR ENGLER.

Edmund Arthur Engler was born in St. Louis, December 23, 1856, and died in that city, January 16, 1918. He was graduated from Washington University, St. Louis, in 1876 and served his Alma Mater as instructor and professor and Dean of its School of Engineering from 1881 to 1901. In the latter year he was called to the Presidency of the Worcester Polytechnic Institute, holding that office until 1911, when he returned to Washington University as its Secretary and Treasurer, where he remained until his death. He was an extensive contributor to magazines on scientific subjects, and was a member of several committees conducting investigations along those lines. He was a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and was a member of the National Geographical Society and the American Mathematical Society. He was President of the Academy of Science of St. Louis, 1898-1901, and 1912-1915. From 1884 to 1900 he was Secretary of The Round Table of St. Louis. He was elected to this Society in 1901, and was a member of its Council from 1903 until he retired on returning to St. Louis in 1911. In April 1904 he prepared for the Society's Proceedings a paper on the "Commer-

cial Primacy in the United States." Washington University conferred the following degrees upon him: —A.B., 1876; Ph.B., 1877; A.M., 1879; Ph.D., 1892; LL.D., 1901. On June 17, 1886, he married Catherine A. Ashbrook, who survives him. S. U.

WILLIAM DeLOSS LOVE.

William DeLoss Love died in Hartford, Conn., April 8, 1918. He was born in New Haven, Conn., November 29, 1851. He was graduated from Hamilton College in 1873 with the degree of A.B., which was followed by that of A.M. in 1877, and Ph.D. in 1894. In 1878 he was graduated from Andover Theological Seminary. From 1878 to 1883 he held pastorates in Lancaster, Mass., and Keene, N. H., and in 1885 went to Hartford, where he was pastor of the Farmington Avenue Congregational Church until 1910. He was much interested in municipal affairs and from 1899 until his death was President of the Connecticut Humane Society. Doctor Love was always interested in history and wrote the "Colonial History of Hartford" in 1914, as stated in the preface, "To serve a patriotic purpose by helping her citizens to maintain a fellowship with the forefathers and by awakening in her children of foreign descent a loyal regard for her traditions." Among his other works were "Fast and Thanksgiving Days of New England," 1895, "Samson Occom and the Christian Indians in New England," 1900, and several monographs on New England history. He married first Ada M. Warren, July 6, 1878, who died in 1881. His second marriage was to Mary L. Hale, October 30, 1884, who, with four children, survives him. He was a member of the Connecticut Historical Society and its corresponding secretary. He was elected in 1894 to this Society, for which he prepared an obituary notice of Charles J. Hoadly in October, 1900; and a paper on the "Navigation of

the Connecticut River," in April, 1903. He presented copies of his various historical writings to the Society, and made many gifts of scarce and early pamphlets to the Library.

S. U.

CHARLES CARD SMITH.

Charles Card Smith was born in Boston, March 27, 1827, and died in that city, March 20, 1918. He was educated in private and public schools at Gloucester. He was secretary of the Boston Gas Light Company from 1853 to 1889, and treasurer of the American Unitarian Association from 1862 to 1871. Most of his long life was spent in historical writing and research. He wrote many biographical and historical articles for the *North American Review*, and from 1874 to 1884 was an editorial writer for the *Boston Advertiser*, devoting himself largely to historical subjects, especially in the centennial year. From 1877 to 1907 he was treasurer of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and for eighteen years was editor of its publications. He maintained that painstaking accuracy which is in accordance with the high standard of the Society's publications. He was a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and was elected a member of this Society in 1876. At the time of his death he was second in seniority of membership. He presented the following to the Proceedings of the Society: "Mistakes in Celebrating Bi-Centennial Anniversaries owing to change from Old Style and New," in October, 1876; "Review of Peters' General History of Connecticut," in October, 1877; "Financial Embarrassments of the New England Ministers in the Last Century," October, 1890; "Obituary of Robert C. Winthrop," April, 1895; "Obituary of William C. Endicott," October, 1900. He presented to the Society many volumes and at his death bequeathed a portion of his library. The honorary degree of A.M. was con-

letter from him in 1871 to Harvard University.
 On August 22, 1871, he married Elizabeth White-
 more of Gloucester who survived him only five days.
 Their only child died in 1882.

S. I.

JOHN C. CALHOUN AND THE SECESSION MOVEMENT OF 1850

HERMAN V. AMES

It has been truly said that "state rights apart from sectionalism have never been a serious hinderance to the progress of national unity"; on the other hand "sectionalism is by its very nature incipient disunion," as its ultimate goal is political independence for a group of states.¹ Prior to the Civil War there were numerous instances of the assertion of state rights. Almost every state in the Union at some time declared its own sovereignty but on other occasions denounced as treasonable similar declarations by other states. Only, however, when the doctrine of state rights has been laid hold of as an effective shibboleth by some particular section of the country, to give an appearance of legality to its opposition to measures of the federal government, has the doctrine threatened the integrity of the Union.

The great and outstanding sectional movement prior to the Civil War, which rallied under the banner of state rights, was due to the divergence of interests and views between the North and the South, caused by the growth of the institution of slavery. Indeed the increasing antagonism between the slave and free labor systems and States had revealed itself from time to time even in the first quarter of the Nation's history. Its sectionalizing tendency was realized by the time of the Missouri Compromise in 1820, and pointed out by several, but especially by Jefferson, when he wrote this oft-quoted passage, "This mo-

¹Anson D. Morse in *Political Science Quarterly*, I, 158.

mentous question, like a fire bell in the night, awakened and filled me with terror. I considered it at once the knell of the Union. . . . A geographical line, coinciding with a marked principle, moral and political, once conceived and held up to the angry passions of men will never be obliterated, and every new irritation will make it deeper and deeper."²

Although the tariff was the ostensible reason for the nullification movement in South Carolina, Calhoun admitted in a private letter in 1830 that it was but "the occasion, rather than the real cause of the present unhappy state of things. The truth can no longer be disguised that the peculiar domestic institutions of the Southern States and the consequent direction which that and her soil and climate have given to her industry, has placed them in regard to taxation and appropriations in opposite relations to the majority of the Union; against the danger of which, if there be no protective power in the reserved rights of the States, they must in the end be forced to rebel or submit to having their permanent interests sacrificed."³

President Jackson also recognized slavery as the real issue. Following the settlement of the nullification controversy he wrote to a friend that "the tariff was only the pretext, and disunion and a southern confederacy the real object. The next pretext will be the negro or slavery question."⁴

A striking and interesting example of the effect of environment and the sectionalizing movement on the thought and policy of a statesman is revealed in the public career of John C. Calhoun, whose name is more closely identified with state rights doctrines than that of any other public man prior to the Civil War.

²*Writings*, X, 157.

³Calhoun to Maxey, Sept. 11, 1830. Quoted in Bassett, *Jackson*, II, 547.

⁴Letter of May 1, 1833 to Rev. Andrew J. Crawford, given in *Congressional Globe*. 36 Cong., 2 Sess., I, 32.

In his early life he was conspicuous for his strong nationalism and his advocacy of a liberal construction of the constitution. John Quincy Adams' contemporary estimate of Calhoun as recorded in his Diary at this period is especially noteworthy. He writes, "He is above all sectional and factional prejudices more than any other statesman of this Union with whom I ever acted."⁵ The causes which led to his change of views have been variously ascribed and doubtless always will be subject to discussion. It has been claimed by some of his contemporaries, as well as by some writers of more recent times, that he was led to give up his former views to identify himself with the nullificationists who had become the dominant political party in South Carolina in the late twenties, out of consideration for his future political career and by his burning ambition to become President. While it must be admitted that Calhoun would not have been human if considerations for his political future had not had their weight, and that there is abundant evidence that, like his contemporaries Clay and Webster, he had a laudable ambition for the Presidency, nevertheless we are loathe to accept the view that such crass and selfish motives could have been the dominating ones in the mind of so great and commanding a character. Rather are we inclined to the opinion already suggested that, as a true son of the South, he was affected by his environment. He became convinced that the economic life of the South was destined to grow increasingly divergent from that of the North, and that the interests identified with and resulting from the institution of slavery would lead to its permanently being in the minority in the general government of the country. He, therefore, was led seriously to consider the means by which the peculiar interests of his section could be safe-guarded, while at the same time the Union, which he loved could be preserved. Hence

⁵*Memoirs*, V, 361.

he laid hold with eagerness upon the doctrine of nullification as the device by which the rights and interests of the minority were to be preserved in the Union. The theory was an attempt to devise a theoretical reconciliation between the most complete state sovereignty and the existence of a general government. Shortly after drafting the South Carolina Exposition of 1828, he writes to a private correspondent, "To preserve our Union on the fair basis of equality, on which alone it can stand, and to transmit the blessings of liberty to the remotest posterity is the first great object of all my exertions."⁶

If this is a correct explanation of Calhoun's reasoning, we can understand why the doctrine of nullification appealed to him; first, because it reconciled his devotion to the Union as well as to his state and section; and secondly, it enabled him honestly to declare, as he did declare, that it was the great conserving feature of our system of government.⁷ The right of secession, which, since the establishment of the government under the Constitution, had been held from time to time in the North as well as in the South as a theoretical possibility, was reserved by Calhoun's Exposition as a last resort.

The acceptance of the view just advanced of Calhoun's motives will go far in explaining his subsequent course. Although he championed southern interests, he restrained the radicals of his state and section for nearly two decades longer, until at last he became convinced that the interests of the two sections were so irreconcilable that the Union ought not to be preserved except at the price of specific constitutional concessions.⁸ Apparently, the year 1847 marks the date when Calhoun, alarmed by the aggressiveness of the northern advocates of the

⁶Calhoun's Correspondence, *American Historical Association Report*, 1899, II, 269-270.

⁷Calhoun, *Works*, VI, 50, 123.

⁸Beverly Tucker's letter, March 25, 1850. *William and Mary Quarterly*, XVIII, 45. See post.

Wilmot Proviso, deemed it high time to arouse the South "to calculate the value of the Union." In a private letter, dated March 19, 1847, he writes, "The time has come when it (the slavery question) must be brought to a final decision."⁹

The part that Calhoun played in the sectional agitation during the next three years, the last of his life, and especially his part in launching and promoting the project for a Southern Convention, as also the history of the movement for such a Convention of the Southern States, which was to demand protection for the rights of that section in the Union, or to concert measures for secession from the Union, is the theme of the remainder of this paper. The idea of a Southern Convention, however, was not new.¹⁰ It had been proposed as early as 1844, both at the time of the Texas agitation and in connection with the tariff agitation of that year. The project at that time found considerable support in South Carolina both in the press and with the public, as fiery and radical speeches, resolutions, and toasts threatening disunion testify. The Hon. R. Barnwell Rhett, Calhoun's colleague in the United States Senate, especially championed the measure. The movement, however, met with general opposition in the other Southern States and Calhoun and his friends opposed it, favoring a more astute policy and awaiting the results of the Presidential election. The resulting election of Polk led to the abandonment of the project, even by its former advocates.

The demand of the North that slavery should be excluded from all the new territory that it was expected would be acquired as a result of the Mexican War revived the sectional issue. Calhoun now takes

⁹Correspondence, 720. See also letter to a member of the Alabama Legislature, Benton, *Thirty Years View*, II, 698.

¹⁰Louisiana, February 20, 1837, had proposed one "to determine the best possible means to obtain peaceably if they can, forcibly if they must, that respect for their institutions to which they are entitled by the enactments of the Federal compact," etc. *Acts of Louisiana*, 1837, 18, 19.

the lead. Following the adoption of the Wilmot Proviso by the House of Representatives for the second time, on February 15, 1847, he delivered a speech in the Senate in which he denounced the Proviso and summoned the South to repudiate compromise and stand upon her rights. At the same time he presented a set of resolutions containing a new doctrine that Congress can impose no restriction upon slavery in the territories.¹¹ They became known as "the Platform of the South." Although these resolutions were not pressed to a vote, the principles underlying them were generally adopted by the southern Democrats, and soon found expression in the resolutions of several of the Southern State legislatures, notably by Virginia, which was the first to adopt them.¹² Apparently, Calhoun was fully convinced that it was high time that something should be done to unite the South in order to preserve her interests in the Union. In a private letter of this period he wrote that instead of shunning, we ought to court the issue with the North on the slavery question. I would even go one step further, and add that it is our duty due to ourselves, to the Union and our political institutions to force the issue on the North."¹³

Partially abandoning his previous policy of restraining the radicals in South Carolina, he threw himself into the movement to arouse the people. On his return from Washington early in March, he was greeted with great enthusiasm by the Mayor and Council of Charleston and a mass meeting of the citizens. This meeting, after listening to Calhoun's plea for the union of the South on the slavery issue regardless of party ties, adopted a strong report and resolutions similar to those that he had presented in Congress.¹⁴

¹¹Calhoun, *Works*, IV, 339-349.

¹²March 8, 1847, *Acts of Virginia*, 1846-47, 236.

¹³Benton, *Thirty Years View*, II, 698.

¹⁴Calhoun's Speech, March 9, 1847, *Works*, IV, 382-396; *Niles' Register*, LXII, 73-75; Calhoun, *Correspondence*, 718, 720; McMaster, VII, 486-489, 494-495.

Some both in and out of the State suspected that Calhoun was playing politics.¹⁵ President Polk in particular held this view. Following the former's efforts to secure the signatures of prominent southerners to an address to the people of the United States on the subject of slavery and the making of this question a test in the next Presidential election, Polk records his condemnation in his Diary under date of April 6, 1847. "Mr. Calhoun has become perfectly desperate in his aspiration to the Presidency, and has seized upon this sectional question as the only means of sustaining himself in his present fallen condition, and that such an agitation of the slavery question was not only unpatriotic and mischievous, but wicked. I now entertain a worse opinion of Mr. Calhoun than I have ever done before. He is wholly selfish, and I am satisfied has no patriotism. A few years ago he was the author of nullification and threatened to dissolve the Union on account of the tariff. During my administration the reduction of duties which he desired has been obtained, and he can no longer complain. No sooner is this done than he selects slavery upon which to agitate the country, and blindly mounts the topic as a hobby."¹⁶

Calhoun's suggestion was not sufficiently encouraged, so the proposed address was not issued at this time. The presidential campaign of 1848 led to a postponement of the issue. Calhoun endeavored to maintain a neutral position during the contest. His correspondence for the year 1848, however, shows that he was carefully considering the utility of a Southern Convention. In a speech delivered in

¹⁵See note, next page.

¹⁶*Diary*, II, 458-9. James H. Hammond writes to W. G. Simms, March 21, 1847, that he has just read Calhoun's Charleston speech. His object is to gain Southern votes for himself for President. Every one in S. Carolina will see this. It will be said that he agitates the slavery question for selfish purposes—"South Carolina under present auspices can do nothing if she puts herself foremost but divide the South and insure disastrous defeat." *Hammond Manuscript*, Vol. 13, Library of Congress. For this and other references to the Hammond collection, I am indebted to Mr. Philip M. Hamer, a member of the Graduate School, University of Pennsylvania.

Charleston, August 20, he intimated more clearly than in any previous public utterance that the question of southern union and secession might soon be a vital one.¹⁷ The press and public meetings throughout the State favored resistance and some urged that South Carolina should take the lead in calling a Southern Convention. As will appear later, Calhoun, while sympathizing with the movement, believed for reasons of expediency it should be initiated in one of the other states, and so he exercised to some extent a restraining influence. On the assembling of the legislature in November of 1848, Governor Johnson in his message, while stating that the present time, owing to the election of Taylor, a Southern man as President was not propitious for action, declared that "unity of time and concert of action are indispensable to success, and a Southern Convention is the most direct and practical means of obtaining it."¹⁸ The legislature on December 15, after a visit of Calhoun to Columbia, on his way to Washington,¹⁹ unanimously adopted resolutions which were apparently in harmony with his wishes. These declared "that the time for discussion had passed, and that this General Assembly is prepared to co-operate with her sister states in resisting the application of the principles of the Wilmot Proviso to such territory at any and all hazard."²⁰

On the re-opening of Congress after the election of 1848, Calhoun renewed his effort to secure the issuing of a Southern Address, this time with more success, as the situation in Washington favored his project

¹⁷Speech in Charleston, *New York Semi-Weekly Tribune*, August 28, 1848. Toombs writes Crittenden, September 27, 1847, "Calhoun stands off too, in order to make a Southern party all his own on slavery in the new Territories. Poor old dotard, to suppose he could get a party now on any terms! Hereafter treachery itself will not trust him." Correspondence of Toombs, Stephens, and Cobb, *American Historical Association Report*, 1911, II, 129.

¹⁸November 27, 1848, *Journal of Senate of S. Carolina*, 1848, 26; *Niles' Register*, LXXIV, 368; Calhoun, *Correspondence*, 1184.

¹⁹*South Carolina Senate Journal*, 1848, 61.

²⁰*Report and Resolutions of South Carolina*, 1848, 147.

inasmuch as the slavery question had re-appeared in Congress in several different measures. The sectionalizing effect of the renewed agitation soon revealed itself. As a result of this, and of Calhoun's labors, a gathering of sixty-nine Southern members of Congress, drawn from both parties, assembled on the evening of December 23, 1848, to determine upon a common policy for the South. Calhoun and the radical Democrats directed the movement. It was commonly believed in Washington, wrote Horace Mann, "that Mr. Calhoun was resolved on a dissolution of the Union."²¹ The attempt was made to unite the representatives of both parties, but it failed of success. President Polk threw the weight of his influence against it. It soon appeared that the Whigs had only entered the conference in order to try to control or defeat the movement.²² "An Address of the Southern Delegates in Congress to their Constituents" was drafted by Calhoun, in which he arraigned the North for their infraction of the Constitution in regard to fugitive slaves and their general course relative to slavery. It denied that Congress had any jurisdiction over slavery in the territories, and it called upon the South to unite, to subordinate party ties, and to prepare to protect itself. "If you become united," it read, "and prove yourself in earnest, the North will be brought to pause, and to a calculation of consequences; and that may lead to a change of measures and to the adoption of a course of policy that may quietly and peaceably terminate this long conflict between the two sections. If it should not, nothing would remain for you but to stand up immovably in defence of rights involving your all, your property, prosperity, equality, liberty, and safety."²³

²¹*Life and Works of Horace Mann*, 273.

²²See Letters of Toombs to John J. Crittenden, *American Historical Association Report*, 1911, II, 139, 141.

²³Calhoun, *Works*, VI, 290-318; *Niles*, LXXV, 84-88.

But the Whigs were not prepared to abandon their party affiliations. As Toombs wrote Crittenden, "We had a regular flare up in the last meeting, and at the call of Calhoun I told them briefly what we were at. I told him (Calhoun) that the union of the South was neither possible nor desirable until we were ready to dissolve the Union. That we certainly did not intend to advise the people now to look any where else than to their own government for the prevention of apprehended evils."²⁴ Alexander H. Stephens tried to prevent action by the caucus, but failed in this. An attempt to substitute an address drawn by Senator Berrien, directed to the "People of the whole Country" and appealing to the patriotism and fairness of the North, failed by a small margin²⁵ and the Calhoun Address slightly modified was adopted and issued on January 22, 1849, but only two Whigs were numbered among its forty-eight signers. Only about one third of the southern representatives signed.

Owing to the attitude of the Whigs, the effect of the address was greatly weakened. In fact Toombs declared "We have completely foiled Calhoun in his miserable attempt to form a Southern Party."²⁶ Calhoun, however, in a letter to his daughter two days after the Address was issued, expressed satisfaction. He writes, "My address was adopted by a decided majority. . . . It is a decided triumph under the circumstances. The administration threw all its weight against us, and added it to the most rabid of the Whigs. . . . The South is more aroused than I ever saw it on the subject."²⁷ Polk's Diary bears out Calhoun's statement of the administration's hostility to their movement. The President records an interview with Calhoun on January

²⁴Coleman, *Life of John J. Crittenden*, I, 335-336.

²⁵*Nilus*, LXXV, 101-104.

²⁶Coleman, *Crittenden*, I, 335.

²⁷*Correspondence*, 762.

16, 1840, and notes, "He (Calhoun) proposed no plan of adjusting the difficulty (territorial), but insisted that the aggression of the North upon the South should be resisted and that the time had come for action. I became perfectly satisfied that he did not desire that Congress should settle the question at the present session and that he desired to influence the North upon the subject, whether from personal or patriotic views it is not difficult to determine. I was firm and decided in my conversation with him, intending to let him understand distinctly that I gave no countenance to any movement which tended to violence or the disunion of the states."²⁸

Just before the final meeting of the caucus, Polk was so disturbed that he conferred with his Cabinet on the matter and informed them that he "thought it was wholly unjustifiable for southern members of Congress, when a fair prospect was presented of settling the whole question, to withhold their co-operation, and instead of aiding in effecting such an adjustment, to be meeting in a sectional caucus and publishing an address to influence the country." "I added," he records, "that I feared there were a few southern men who had become so excited that they were indifferent to the preservation of the Union." "I stated that I put my face alike against southern agitators and northern fanatics and should do everything in my power to allay excitement by adjusting the question of slavery and preserving the Union."²⁹ It was agreed that each member of the Cabinet should be active in seeing members of Congress, and urge them to support the bill to admit California at once as a state. Polk promised to use his influence with members, and records in his Diary:—"This is an unusual step for the Executive to take, but the emergency demands it. It may be the only means of allaying a fearful sectional excitement and

²⁸*Diary*, IV, 288.

²⁹*Diary*, IV, 299.

of preserving the Union, and therefore I think upon high public consideration it is justified."³⁰

Through the administration's influence, some of the Democrats joined the southern Whigs in refusing to support the address, yet the South Carolina legislature, as previously stated, had declared that it was prepared to co-operate with other Southern States in resisting the extension of the Wilmot Proviso to the new territory. In the course of the next few weeks, the Democratic legislatures in Virginia, Florida, and Missouri adopted resolutions of similar tenor, and even the Whig legislature of North Carolina joined in denouncing the proposed restrictive legislation and suggested the extension of the Missouri Compromise line to the new territory.³¹ Virginia took more radical action by providing for a special session of the legislature, should Congress pass the obnoxious laws. In several of the other states, although there was no legislative action, there was a renewal of popular agitation. While the sentiment in both Georgia and Alabama was divided on the Southern Address, the Wilmot Proviso was emphatically condemned by both political parties. In Georgia, Governor Town, who had declared himself in favor of resisting the Wilmot Proviso to the limit, was re-elected, and the Democrats gained control of the legislature for the first time in several years. In Alabama the Democrats also made substantial gains. Moreover, Mississippi, as we shall presently see, took up with zeal the proposal for the Southern Convention.

Calhoun had not ventured in the "Address of the Southern Delegates" to explicitly propose a Southern Convention, but we know he had entertained the possibility of one for some time. More than a year previously he had stated in a confidential letter that

³⁰*Diary*, IV, 300.

³¹*Senate Misc.*, 30 Congress, 2 session, I, Nos. 48, 51, II, Nos. 54, 58; *Senate Misc.*, 31 Congress, 1 session, I, No. 24.

such a Convention was "indispensable."²² Within a few weeks after the southern caucus, his personal correspondence to political friends in several states shows that he was actively, although quietly, urging the idea of a southern Convention and outlining the plan of action. Thus we find him writing to John H. Means, shortly afterward chosen Governor of South Carolina. "I am of the impression that the time is near at hand when the South will have to choose between disunion and submission. I think so, because I see little prospect of arresting the aggression of the North. If any thing can do it, it would be for the South to present with an unbroken front to the North the alternative of dissolving the partnership or of ceasing on their part to violate our rights. . . . But it will be impossible to present such a front, except by means of a Convention of Southern States. That, and that only could speak for the whole, and present authoritatively to the North the alternative, which to choose. If such a presentation should fail to save the Union, by arresting the aggression of the North and causing our rights and the stipulation of the Constitution in our favor to be respected, it would afford proof conclusive that it could not be saved, and that nothing was left us, but to save ourselves. Having done all we could to save the Union, we would then stand justified before God and man to dissolve a partnership which had proved inconsistent with our safety, and, of course, destructive of the object which mainly induced us to enter into it. Viewed in this light, a Convention of the South is an indispensable means to discharge a great duty we owe to our partners in the Union: that is, to warn them in the most solemn manner that if they do not desist from aggressions and cease to disregard our rights and stipulations of the Constitution, the duty we owe to ourselves and our posterity would compel us

²²Benton, *Thirty Years View*, II, 698-700. Letter of Wilson Lumpkin to Calhoun, November 18, 1847. *Correspondence*, 1135-1139.

to dissolve forever the partnership with them. But should its warning voice fail to save the Union, it would in that case prove the most efficient of all means for saving ourselves."³³

Scarcely more than a month after this letter was written, in accordance with a plan privately suggested by Calhoun, and publicly favored by district and parish meetings in various parts of South Carolina, a Convention of delegates assembled at Columbia, May 14-15, 1849. After approving the Southern Address and the action of the state government, it called for a special session of the legislature to take action in case any of the proposed obnoxious legislation should be passed by Congress. This Convention also appointed five prominent men as a Central Committee of Vigilance and Safety to correspond with the other states to promote concert of action, and to perfect the organization of the state—thus fully accepting Calhoun's program.³⁴

It was desired, however, that some state other than South Carolina should take the lead. Mississippi was the first to respond under the stimulus of Mr. Calhoun's letters.³⁵ In May, 1849, an informal meeting of prominent citizens was held at Jackson to protest against southern exclusion from the territories. This gathering issued a call for the voters of the several counties to choose delegates to a State Convention to be held at Jackson in October "to consider the threatening relations between the North and the South." A copy of their resolutions was sent to Mr. Calhoun with the request that he advise the promoters of the movement the proper course for the Convention to take. Calhoun replied in a letter addressed to Col. C. S. Tarpley, dated July 9, 1849, outlining the course that it was desirable

³³Calhoun to John H. Means, *Correspondence*, 765, 766.

³⁴*National Era*, May 24, 1849. *National Intelligencer*, May 24 and 26, 1849.

³⁵D. T. Herndon in *Alabama Hist. Society Transactions*, V, 204-208; Cleo Hearon in *Publications of Miss. Hist. Society*, XIV, ch. II and III.

to take. His letter was in part as follows:³⁶ "In my opinion there is but one thing that holds out the promise of saving both ourselves and the Union: and that is a Southern Convention; and that, if much longer delayed, cannot. It ought to have been held this fall, and ought not to be delayed beyond another year; all our movements ought to look to that result. For that purpose every southern state ought to be organized, with a central committee and one in each county. Ours is already. It is indispensable to produce concert and prompt action. In the meantime, firm and resolute resolutions ought to be adopted by yours and such meetings as may take place before the assembling of the legislature in the fall. They, when they meet, ought to take up the subject in the most solemn and impressive manner.

"The great object of a Southern Convention should be, to put forth in a solemn manner the causes of our grievances in an address to other states, and to admonish them, in a solemn manner, of the consequences which must follow, if they should not be redressed, and to take measures preparatory to it, in case they should not be. The call should be addressed to all those who are desirous to save the Union and our institutions, and who, in the alternative, should it be forced on us, of submission or dissolving the *partnership*, would prefer the latter. No state could better take the lead in this great conservative movement than yours." Calhoun wrote a similar letter to Senator Henry S. Foote, August 2, 1849,³⁷ to which Foote replied a few days before the Mississippi Convention met, stating, "I am gratified to have it within my power to inform you that several leading gentlemen of both the two great political parties in Mississippi have promised me at

³⁶"*The Southron*," Jackson, Miss., published Mr. Calhoun's letter May 24, 1850. Copied in *National Daily Intelligencer*, June 4, 1850, also *Cong. Globe*, 32 *Cong.* 1 *sess.* Appendix 52.

³⁷*National Era*, June 12, 1851.

our approaching convention to act upon your suggestion relative to the recommendation of a Southern Convention."³⁸

His suggestions were explicitly followed. The State formally took the lead, a central committee was organized and local committees were appointed in the counties, "firm and determined resolutions" were adopted by the October Convention. These condemned the policy of Congress, and appointed a committee of seven which issued "An Address to the Southern States," inviting them to send delegates to a Convention to be held at Nashville, June 3, 1850, "with the view and the hope of arresting the course of aggression, and, if not practicable then to concentrate the South in will and understanding, and action," "and as the possible ultimate resort the call by the legislatures of the assailed States of still more solemn Conventions,—to deliberate, speak, and act with all the sovereign power of the people. Should, in the result, such Conventions be called and held, they may look to a like regularly constituted convention of all the assailed States, to provide in the last resort for their separate welfare, by the formation of a compact and a union that will afford protection to their liberties and their rights."³⁹

Calhoun's connection with the movement was not generally known but was suspected.⁴⁰ Following

³⁸Letter of September 25, 1849, Calhoun, *Correspondence*, 1204. See also letter from A. Hutchinson to Calhoun of October 5, 1849, *Ibid.*, 1208.

³⁹For address and resolutions, *Congressional Globe*, 31, *Cong. I. Sess.*, I, 578; 579, 942.

⁴⁰Senator Foote in a speech February 8, 1850, denied that the Mississippi movement was instigated by South Carolina. *Congressional Globe*, 31 *Cong. I sess. Appendix* 100. In December, 1851, however, he acknowledged "that it was through me, in the first instance that Mr. Calhoun succeeded in instigating the incipient movement in Mississippi, which led to the calling of the Nashville Convention." *Ibid.*, 32 *Cong. I sess. Appendix*, 52. A few days later he stated that he had not known of Mr. Calhoun's letter to Mr. Tarpley and to others until recently, and added "the letters that I have seen, according generally with this one (Tarpley) satisfied my mind that the *modus operandi* of the Convention was more or less marked out by his great intellect." *Cong. Globe*, 32 *Cong. I sess.* 134-135.

Daniel Wallace was sent by Governor Seabrook of South Carolina as a special agent to attend the Mississippi Convention. In a confidential letter he reports that he noted there the influence of "our own old statesman." (Calhoun). See Report of D. Wallace, Special Agent from South Carolina to Mississippi, in collection of letters of W. B. Seabrook in the Library of Congress. For Wallace's denial that he was an agent of South Carolina, see references cited by A. C. Cole. The South and the Right of Secession, in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, I, 377, note 2.

his speech in Congress, March 4, 1850, just before his death, it was asserted. Thus the Fayetteville, (N. C.) *Observer* declared: "The proposition to hold such a convention was first authoritatively made in Mississippi. But we presume nobody is so green as to imagine that it originated there. No, we have no shadow of doubt that the action of Mississippi was prompted from South Carolina, and now in Mr. Calhoun's speech we have a revelation of the purpose for which the Convention is to assemble. It is to demand impracticable and impossible concessions, with no hope of their being granted, and with a purpose and declaration that if not granted the South will secede from the Union." His letter to Colonel Tarpley was not made public until after his death, shortly before the assembling of the Nashville Convention.

Calhoun followed the progress of events with great interest and urged his correspondents in Georgia, Alabama, and South Carolina to see that their states supported the Mississippi movement.⁴¹ He writes James H. Hammond, "As to myself, I lose no opportunity, when I can act with propriety, to give the great cause an impulse. . . . I have made it a point to throw off no one. Let us be one is my advice to all parties in the South. . . . The time for action has come. If the South is to be saved, now is the time."⁴²

His own State Government was the first to respond. Governor Seabrook's message to the legislature, when it assembled the last of November (1849) reviewed the slavery agitation. He predicted that "the enactment of any one of the contemplated measures of hostility would probably, if not certainly, result in severing the political ties that now unite us. . . . the South has at last been aroused from

⁴¹*Correspondence*, 762, 769, 773, 775, 778. Letters to Calhoun, *Ibid.*, 1195, 1196, 1199-1202, 1210-1212.

⁴²Letter of January 4, 1850, *Correspondence*, 779.

its criminal lethargy to a knowledge of the dangers of its position. For the first time in our political history, party affinities are becoming merged in the high obligation of co-operation for the sake of safety, or for participation in a common fate." He concluded by recommending the Southern Convention as proposed by the people of Mississippi. This recommendation was endorsed by the legislature, meeting as a caucus, December 12, 1849, and the election of delegates was provided for.⁴³ They also adopted the measures recommended by the May Convention.

Calhoun's fondest hope for the union of the men of the South of both political parties seemed about to be realized. Whigs vied with Democrats in declaring that southern rights were in universal danger, and that only a united and bold front would prevent the enactment of measures that would force the disruption of the Union. Southern men and the southern press were even seriously considering the value of the Union and the advantages of its dissolution.

On the assembling of Congress in December of 1849, Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia, a leading southern Whig wrote "I find the feeling among the southern members for a dissolution of the Union—if the anti-slavery measures should be pressed to extremity—is becoming more general than at first. Men are now beginning to talk of it seriously, who, twelve months ago, hardly permitted themselves to think of it."⁴⁴ Calhoun a little later wrote, "The southern members are more determined and bold than I ever saw them. Many avow themselves to be disunionists, and a still greater number admit that there is little hope for any remedy short of it."⁴⁵

⁴³*The Tri-Weekly South Carolinian*, December 8, 1849.

⁴⁴Johnson and Brown, *Life of Alexander H. Stephens*, 239.

⁴⁵January 12, 1850, Calhoun, *Correspondence*, 780, also December 8, 31, 1849; *Ibid.*, 776, 778.

Similar opinions were expressed in many southern papers. The *Richmond Enquirer* of February 12 declared, "The two great political parties of the country have ceased to exist in the Southern States, so far as the present slavery issue is concerned. United they will prepare, consult, combine, for prompt and decisive action. With united voices—we are compelled to make a few exceptions—they proclaim, in the language of the Virginia resolution, passed a day since, the preservation of the Union if we can, the preservation of our own rights if we cannot. This is the temper of the South; this is the temper becoming the inheritors of rights acquired for freemen by the hand of freemen. 'Thus far shalt thou come, and no farther,' or else the proud waves of Northern aggression shall float the wreck of the Constitution."⁴⁶

A communication in the *Columbia (S. C.) Telegraph*, February 15, 1850, reads: "My idea is, first, to perfect the Union of the South, now so happily in progress. A year ago I thought the South was doomed, it seemed so dead to the true situation, mouthing after the lessons of miserable demagogues the sounding devices of party. But that day is past. There are no more Whigs, no more Democrats—there is but one party, 'The party of the South.' The South is aroused, her banner is on the outer wall, and the cry is still 'they come, they come,' 'Let the good work go on.' Second, to dissolve the Union immediately, form a Southern Confederacy, and the possession by force of most of all the territories suitable for slavery, which would include all south of the northern latitude of Missouri."⁴⁷

Even *The Richmond Republican*, a conservative Whig paper, said editorially, "We are afraid these men will find the South is in earnest when it is too late. . . . It is melancholy to contemplate such a state of things; for whatever Northern citizens

⁴⁶Quoted in *National Intelligencer*, February 16, 1850.

⁴⁷Quoted in *National Intelligencer*, February 21, 1850.

may believe, or affect to believe, every Southern man knows that to persist in those measures which form the principal point of Northern policy upon the subject of slavery, will result in a dissolution of the Union."⁴⁸

Robert Toombs, a Whig representative from Georgia, wrote "When I came to Washington, I found the whole Whig party expecting to pass the Proviso, and Taylor would not veto it I saw General Taylor, and talked fully with him, and while he stated he had given and would give no pledges either way about the Proviso, he gave me clearly to understand that if it was passed he would sign it. My course instantly became fixed. I would not hesitate to oppose the Proviso, even to the extent of a dissolution of the Union."⁴⁹ He, therefore, believed that the Whigs should join with the southern Democrats in presenting a determined resistance to this obnoxious measure.

Stephens's letters from December to early in February show a similar determination as well as despair of the preservation of the Union. Thus he writes his brother on January 21: "I see no hope to the South from the Union. I do not believe much in resolutions, anyway. I am a good deal like Troup in this particular. If I were now in the legislature, I should introduce bills reorganizing the militia, for the establishment of a military school the encouragement of the formation of volunteer companies, the creation of arsenals, of an armory, and an establishment for making gunpowder. In these lies our defence. I tell you the argument is exhausted, and if the South does not intend to be overrun with anti-slavery doctrines, they must, before no distant day, stand by their arms. My mind is made up; I am for the fight, if the country will back me. And if not, we had better have no 'Resolutions'

⁴⁸Quoted in *National Intelligencer*, February 2, 1850.

⁴⁹Coleman, *Life of John J. Crittenden*, 365, letter dated April 25, 1850.

and no gasconade. They will but add to our degradation."⁵⁰ The *National Intelligencer*, a Whig paper published in Washington, in the leading editorial February 2, entitled, "The Evil of the Day," confirmed this view of the attitude of the southern Whigs. "What is most alarming of all," it declared, "is the fact that gentlemen who have ever heretofore been most conservative and even thoroughly Whig, are to be found still more excited than those who have been habitually railers against the North, and undervaluers of the Union."

In the meantime the movement for the Nashville Convention was taken up in the other southern legislatures as they assembled. The legislatures of Virginia, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Texas, and Arkansas voted respectively that their states would be represented, but not without opposition in some states, and considerable difference of opinion in regard to the methods to be employed for the choice of delegates. In general, the Whigs desired election by the people, the Democrats by the legislature. As a result there were a variety of methods adopted.

In some states all the delegates were chosen by the legislature, in others a part were so chosen to represent the state at large, and the remainder by the district system. In a few states, where the choice was left to the people it resulted in only a partial representation as was true of Virginia, Texas, and Arkansas. The legislature of Tennessee, Louisiana and several of the border states refused to indorse the Convention, and from only one of these, Tennessee, were any representatives present at Nashville.⁵¹ Four of the state legislatures, namely, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Virginia also authorized the calling of a state Convention in case the Wilmot Proviso or similar

⁵⁰Johnson and Brown, *Stephens*, 245. See also letter of February 13, 1850 to Jas. Thomas, *American Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1911, II, 184.

⁵¹Cole, *The Whig Party in the South*, 158-162, 170-171. D. T. Herndon, *The Nashville Convention of 1850*, in *Transactions of the Alabama Historical Society*, V, 213-216.

obnoxious measures were adopted by Congress. Mississippi added an appropriation of \$220,000 as a contingency fund.

From the moment of the introduction of Clay's resolutions, the southern Whig sentiment began to change, and it was soon evident that the majority of their numbers were ready to accept the admission of California, if the Wilmot Proviso was not applied to the rest of the Mexican cession. It was otherwise with the southern Democrats. On the 4th of March, Calhoun's speech, the last great effort of his life, was presented to the Senate.⁵² The scene was a dramatic one. The knowledge that the veteran statesman and great champion of southern rights was to emerge from his sick room to present his views on the crisis of the hour was sufficient to crowd the Senate Chamber. Too ill to deliver the speech himself, it was read by Senator Mason of Virginia. Calhoun, pale and emaciated sat with eyes partially closed, listening to the delivery of his last appeal and solemn warning. "A sombre hue pervaded the whole speech," wrote Senator Cass. It was, indeed, clear that the author, conscious of his approaching end, was oppressed with anxious forebodings of the disruption of the Union. He declared that the Compromise proposed could not save the Union. This could be done only by the North giving to the South equal rights in the territories, by ceasing to agitate the slavery question and by consenting to an amendment to the Constitution which would restore to the South the power to protect herself. The amendment as explained in a posthumous essay provided for the election of two Presidents, one from each section, each to have a veto on all legislation.⁵³

This extreme demand did not command the support of the southern Whigs, and Webster's "Seventh of March Speech" did much to reassure them,⁵⁴ and the

⁵²*Congressional Globe*, 31 Cong. 1 Sess., I, 451-455; *Works*, IV, 542-573.

⁵³*A Discourse on the Constitution and Government of the United States*.

southern press in general applauded it; while many condemned Calhoun's remedy as impracticable. Thus the *Virginia Free Press* declares: "The necessity of the Convention, if it ever existed is now at an end. . . . Since the delivery of Mr. Webster's speech the great body of the people feel a confidence that the agitating and exciting question of the day will be amicably settled and the clouds which lately lowered so darkly over the Union will be dispelled."⁵⁵ Even the radical *Charleston Mercury* says: "With such a spirit as Mr. Webster has shown, it no longer seems impossible to bring this sectional contest to a close, and we feel now, or the first time since Congress met, a hope that it may be adjusted."⁵⁶ The *New Orleans Bee* declared that "the public sentiment of nine-tenths of the people of the South will rebuke the opinion of Mr. Calhoun and stamp it as calumny upon the slave holding part of the community."⁵⁷ The change in the attitude of the press in regard to the Nashville Convention was general, but particularly marked in the case of the Whig papers. The *Wilmington Chronicle* states that of sixty papers from ten slave-holding states from Maryland to Louisiana, not more than one quarter take decided ground for a Southern Convention. "The rest are either strongly opposed to it, doubt its utility or are silent on the subject."⁵⁸ The Jackson (Mississippi) *Southron* had at first supported the movement, but by March it had grown luke-warm and before the Convention assembled, decidedly opposed to it. The last of May it said, "not a Whig paper in the

⁵⁵Toombs in letter of March 22, 1850 to Linton Stephens wrote:—"We have a tolerable prospect for a proper settlement of the slavery question. I should think it a strong prospect if it were not that the Calhoun wing of the South seem to desire no settlement and may perhaps go against any adjustment which would likely pass." *American Historical Association Report*, 1911, II, 188.

⁵⁶*National Intelligencer*, March 18 and 23.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*

⁵⁸*National Intelligencer*, March 11.

⁵⁹*National Intelligencer*, March 19.

state approves."⁵⁹ The *Savannah Republican* early in the year seemed to be in doubt what course to recommend; by the latter part of March it had grown fearful "that evil men may use it for their own purposes," especially so since Calhoun's speech. By the end of May it pronounces against such a sectional assembly pending the action of Congress.⁶⁰

On the other hand leading Democrats and several of the influential party papers tried to check the rising tide of union sentiment and to urge the Convention forward. A meeting of southern Senators was held in Washington on April 16th, at which all except four were present. They unanimously recognized the importance of the Convention being held.⁶¹ The *Columbus Sentinel* (Georgia) declared "Let the Convention be held and let the undivided voice of the South go forth, . . . from the deliberations of that Convention, declaring our determination to resist even to civil war, and we shall then and not till then hope for a respectful recognition of our equality and rights."⁶²

In South Carolina many declared openly in favor of secession. Thus the *Fairfield Herald* of May 1 states its views: "The time for the Southern Convention is nigh at hand, and with its approach conflicting opinions harass the mind. The question has been frequently asked, with all seriousness, what will be the probable action of the Convention? We have hoped, and we still desire, that the Convention will assume a decided position and declare to the North that there is a line established beyond which, if they dare trespass, a revolution shall be the consequence. Further than this, we anxiously pray that the Convention may entertain the proposition of the formation of a Southern Confederacy. The Union, as it now

⁵⁹Compare *Southron*, September 21, October 5, 1849, March 11, 15, 22, April 5, 19, May 24, 31, June 7, 1850.

⁶⁰*Savannah Republican*, March 21, 22, May 20, 1850.

⁶¹*Montgomery Advertiser*, April 16, 1850.

⁶²*National Intelligencer*, March 11.

exists, has proved a curse and not a blessing. It has been made the means of catering to northern taste and inclinations, robbing from the southern planter his pittance to pander to the craving propensities of northern leeches. In the language of the *Wilmington Aurora* (which we unhesitatingly endorse) we would say to our delegates, who will shortly leave for the Convention, if they intend to furnish us with *barren addresses* merely, they had better stay at home."⁶³

Such utterances as these led several of the Whig delegates who had been chosen to the Convention, especially in Georgia, to decline to attend on the ground that the movement had not the support of the people as shown by the small vote cast, and because they were opposed to anything looking toward disunion.⁶⁴ "They saw," said the *Southron*, "that South Carolina and portions of the loco foco party in other states were determined to press the consideration at the Nashville Convention the propriety of the treasonable project of disunion."⁶⁵ Some of the Whigs, however, decided to attend to prevent extreme measures. William M. Murphy, one of the delegates at large from Alabama, published an open letter stating his reasons. "It is said that the object of the Convention is to dissolve the Union; if this be true no earthly power should prevent my attendance—to prevent that awful calamity."⁶⁶

Chief Justice Sharkey and the Mississippi Whigs, however, attended, and the former both before the Convention met,⁶⁷ and in his speech from the President's chair in that body, denied that the object of the originators of the movement was to dissolve the Union but to obtain relief from the "violations of the Constitution which the North had made."

⁶³*National Intelligencer*, March 10, 1850.

⁶⁴*National Intelligencer*, June 1850. Especially letter of Ex-Representative Jas. A. Mariweather of Georgia. *Augusta Chronicle* quoted in *National Intelligencer*, May 7, 1850. *Savannah Republican*, quoted in *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, April 2, 1850.

⁶⁵*Jackson Southron*, May 31.

"The Convention had not been called to prevent, but to perpetuate union."⁶⁸

As we have seen, Calhoun was largely responsible for the assembling of the Southern Convention, and it is apparent that he had hoped to guide its proceedings. Indeed he had suggested, as late as the middle of February, that "at least two members from each of the delegations should visit Washington on their way to Nashville, in order to consult fully with the members from the South that are true to her."⁶⁹ Had he lived doubtless he would have exercised great influence in directing its work.⁷⁰ From his correspondence of the last few months of his life, as well as from articles in papers inspired by him, we are able to form an excellent idea of what he hoped the Convention would accomplish. In a letter to the editor of his organ the *South Carolinian*, Calhoun wrote early in the winter that "the great object of the Convention is to make a solemn statement of the wrongs of the South and to appeal to the North to desist. Further, in case the latter should refuse to alter its course, to devise some means of action."⁷¹ It is probable that he intended the Convention to embody in its demands the indispensable guarantees that he had presented in his last speech in Congress. This was the view taken by Senator Foote, who the day following the presentation of Calhoun's speech protested in the Senate against the demand for amendments to the Constitution as a *sine qua non* on the part of the South. Calhoun immediately replied disclaiming having said anything about a *sine qua non* but added, "I will

⁶⁸Montgomery *Alabama Journal*, May 22.

⁶⁹Letter of April 4 in *National Intelligencer*, April 27. Senator Foote in a speech February 14, 1850, stated a similar view. *Cong. Globe*. 31 *Cong.* 1 *Sess.*, I, 369.

⁷⁰*New York Tribune*, June 24, 1850.

⁷¹*Correspondence*, 782.

⁷²Hammond wrote him March 5, 1850, "You must be there with your full power." *Correspondence*, 1212.

⁷³*South Carolina Triweekly*, May 25, 1850.

say—and I say it boldly—for I am not afraid to say the truth on any question, that as things now stand, the Southern States can not with safety remain in the Union.”⁷²

In his last letter, dated March 10, Calhoun wrote, “Nothing short of the terms I propose can settle it finally and permanently. Indeed it is difficult to see how two peoples so different and hostile can exist together in one common Union.”⁷³ Judge Beverly Tucker of Virginia, an ardent secessionist, evidently believed that Calhoun had at last made up his mind that secession was inevitable. On March 25, 1850, he wrote his nephew, “That the action of South Carolina will be determined is absolutely sure. She has been held in check by Calhoun for seventeen years. Seeing now no room between him and the grave for any ambitious career, he for the first time looks on the subject with a single eye, and his late speech does but give utterance to what has been in his mind and in the mind of every man in that State during this time.”⁷⁴

⁷²*Congressional Globe*, 31 *Cong.*, 1 *Sess.*, I, 462-463. In December, 1851, Foote stated in a speech that “I am now perfectly certain that it was the intention of himself (Calhoun) and a few others closely associated with him to wield, as far as they might find it in their power to do so, all the machinery of the Nashville Convention for the purpose of setting up demands in favor of the Southern States alike unjust and unreasonable in themselves—a compliance with which they could not have confidently expected. I entertain no doubt also, at this time that he contemplated the breaking up of the Confederacy as more than a probable event, and one to which he began to look forward with a good deal of eagerness.” *Cong. Globe*, 32 *Cong.*, 1 *sess.* *Appendix*, 51. For Rhett’s denial see *Ibid.*, 61.

The correspondence of Judge Beverly Tucker of Virginia to Ex-Governor Jas. H. Hammond of South Carolina, both of whom were delegates to the Nashville Convention, during the spring of 1850, shows that there were those who wished to use the Convention, to force secession. Tucker desired that demands should be made on the North that should be so extreme that they would not be accepted. See Tucker’s letters of January 27, February 8, 1850, in *Jas. H. Hammond Manuscripts*, Vol. 17, Library of Congress.

⁷³*Correspondence*, 784.

⁷⁴*William and Mary Quarterly*, XVIII, 44-46. Tucker wrote Ex-Governor Hammond May 7, 1850, Calhoun “died nobly, and his last act redeems all the errors of his life . . . I have heard of those who rejoiced in his death as providential. I hope it may prove so, but not in the way intended by them. They considered him as the moving cause of excitement in South Carolina. You and I know that he restrained it and restrained himself. When he went home in March 1833, he was prepared to say all that he said in his last speech and much more, had others been prepared to hear it. I know it from his own lips.” *Hammond Manuscript*, Vol. 17.

It would seem that Calhoun was now almost convinced that secession was a necessary measure, but apparently hoped to the last for the preservation of the Union on the terms he had proposed. A few days before his death he dictated an incomplete draft of certain resolutions on the territorial question then at issue.⁷⁵ These were directed chiefly against the admission of California under the proposed constitution. It characterized the suggested action as more objectionable than the Wilmot Proviso because "it would effect indirectly and surreptitiously what the proviso proposes to effect openly and directly."⁷⁶ The series concluded as follows:—"Resolved, "That the time has arrived when the said Southern States owe it to themselves and the other States comprising the Union, to settle fully and forever all the questions at issue." Calhoun may have intended this draft for use in the Senate or more probably for the Nashville Convention, but they do not seem to have influenced the text of the resolutions adopted by the latter body.⁷⁷ His death, occurring two months prior to its meeting left the shaping of the course of the Convention to other and less skilful hands.

Owing to the developments in Congress, the movement for the Convention lost importance and support in the South, and the assembling of its members on the 3rd of June aroused little interest in the North as its action had been discounted. Representatives from nine states were present. The body being composed of seventy-five members from eight states, and one hundred from Tennessee. The Convention was organized with the choice of Judge Sharkey as President. He made a pacific speech, but it probably

⁷⁵ *Correspondence*, 785-787.

⁷⁶ A similar view in his letter of January 4, 1850, Calhoun, *Correspondence*, 779-780.

⁷⁷ Joseph A. Scoville, wrote James H. Hammond, April 18, 1850, as follows:—"Mr. Calhoun commenced dictating some resolutions a few days before he died—he did not finish them, whether he intended them for the Senate or for Nashville, I never knew." *Hammond Manuscript*, Vol. 17.

did not express the attitude of the majority of the delegates. A Committee on Resolutions consisting of two from each state reported a series of resolutions based on those presented by John A. Campbell of Alabama, afterward Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, which were adopted unanimously on a vote by states. These were rather moderate in character. In fact Colquitt of Georgia characterized them as "tame." The resolutions condemned the Wilmot Proviso and the other proposed hostile measures, omitting all mention of the admission of California. They demanded the extension of the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific. This was pronounced "as an extreme concession" and soon came to be regarded as the ultimatum of the Convention. They declined "to discuss the methods suitable for resistance to measures not yet adopted, which might involve a dishonor to the South," and voted to re-convene six weeks after the adjournment of Congress, in case it failed to comply with its demands.⁷⁸

An address to the people of the Southern States, prepared by R. Barnwell Rhett of South Carolina, was also reported and aroused much discussion. It was far more radical than the resolutions, comprising the "choicest specimens of disunion tenets," as one of the southern Whig papers remarked.⁷⁹ *The Southron* declared that neither Calhoun, Hayne nor McDuffie, "even in the palmiest days of ultra nullification, ever conceived anything to surpass it."⁸⁰ The address denounced expressly the Compromise

⁷⁸*Journal of Proceedings of the Southern Convention*, 3-8. See S. L. Sioussat, Tennessee, The Compromise of 1850 and the Nashville Convention, in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, II, 330-340, 343-346, for excellent account of the proceedings of the two sessions of the Convention. T. D. Herndon, The Nashville Convention of 1850, in *Alabama Historical Society, Transactions* V, 216-233. Cleo. Hearon, Mississippi and The Compromise of 1850, in *Publications of Mississippi Historical Society*, XIV, ch. VI. Farrar Newberry, The Nashville Convention and Southern Sentiment of 1850, *South Atlantic Quarterly*, XI, 259-273.

⁷⁹*Southron*, June 28.

⁸⁰*Southron*, June 28.

measures pending in Congress and expressed the belief that sooner or later disunion must come. An earnest attempt was made by the Whigs and a few conservative Democrats to strike out this section, and especially the statement in the address that it would be unconstitutional to admit California. A number of strong speeches were made in opposition to this portion of the address. Beverly Tucker, Professor of Law in the College of William and Mary, however, made a fiery speech in favor of secession.⁸¹ The address was carried by a unanimous vote by states, but on motion the votes of each member were recorded, and from that it appeared that the Whigs were opposed, while most of the Democrats supported it.⁸² After a session of nine days, the first session of the Convention adjourned on June 12th. The North by this time, refused to take the Convention seriously. A Philadelphia paper declared, "the prospect is that the members have each made good an excellent claim to ridicule for life."⁸³ The South, however, regarded it quite differently. The Whigs generally repudiated it, agreeing with *The Republican Banner and Nashville Whig* that the spirit of the Convention and the propositions discussed savor so strongly of disunion that every friend of the Republic must feel that its perpetuity is threatened."⁸⁴ On the other hand, the Democrats and Democratic press praised its work and influence.

We are convinced that a careful study of the Southern Convention movement must lead to the conclusion that it was of much greater importance and a more serious menace to the Union than has been generally recognized by many historians. Mr.

⁸¹*Remarks of Beverly Tucker, Southern Convention*, 16 pages, n. d. Copy in Virginia State Library.

⁸²*Republican Banner and Nashville Whig*, June 12, 13, 14, 15. This paper said July 4, "only some dozen or fifteen Whigs to some eighty Democrats."

⁸³*North American*, quoted by *National Intelligencer*, June 20.

⁸⁴June 17.

Rhodes states that "the Nashville Convention deserves mention more from the hopes and fears it had excited than from its active or enduring effects."⁸⁵ While this is true, it is also true, as he points out in another passage "that had the Wilmot Proviso passed Congress, or had slavery been abolished in the District of Columbia, the Southern Convention . . . would have been a very different affair, from the one that actually assembled at Nashville."⁸⁶

This, it is believed, is apparent from the facts that have been presented. The South, it is clear, would have been united without distinction of party against any such measures. Their various legislative resolutions against the Wilmot Proviso, for example, were not mere gasconade, but represented a deep-seated spirit of resistance that undoubtedly would have led to bold and concerted measures to disrupt the Union and to the formation of a Southern Confederacy. But this movement, for the time being, was checked by the passage of the Compromise measures.

While it is undoubtedly true that the project for a Southern Convention and the threat of secession was largely a movement of the politicians rather than one emanating from the people, it is equally true that the Compromise of 1850 was the work of politicians, which was soon to be rejected by the people of both sections. Even at the adjournment of Congress it was not certain that the lower South would accept the Compromise. The Nashville Convention, less representative than when it met in June, convened for a second session from November 11 to 19, 1850. All the delegates who accepted the Compromise measures were absent. The extremists being in control, after a series of disunion speeches had been delivered, adopted a set of radical resolutions. These formally affirmed the right of secession, denounced

⁸⁵*History of the United States*, I, 174.

⁸⁶*Ibid.*, I, 135.

the recent Compromise Acts of Congress, and recommended a general Congress or Convention of the slave-holding states "with a view and intention of arresting further aggression, and if possible of restoring the constitutional rights of the South and if not, to provide for their safety and independence."⁸⁷ But what was more alarming was the very definite movement for immediate secession in the four states of Georgia, Mississippi, Alabama, and South Carolina, which was with difficulty temporarily checked,⁸⁸ but not before the agitation had familiarized the people of the South with this remedy for their grievances and strengthened their belief in secession as a constitutional right, thus preparing the way for its adoption a decade later, when the process of the sectionalization of the country had been completed.

⁸⁷Cluskey, *Political Text Book*, (2 Ed.) 596-598.

⁸⁸Arthur C. Cole, *The South and the Right of Secession in the Early Fifties*, *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, I, 376-399; Cole, *The Whig Party in the South*, ch. VI; Cleo Hearn, *Mississippi and Compromise*, ch. VIII-XII; U. B. Phillips, *Georgia and State Rights*, 161-170. Philip M. Hamer, *The Secession Movement in South Carolina, 1848-1852*. (Univ. of Penn. Ph. D. thesis, June, 1918.)

FRIENDSHIP AS A FACTOR IN THE SETTLEMENT OF MASSACHUSETTS

BY CHARLES EDWARDS PARK

In writing a paper on this subject, one discovers almost immediately that one will have to exercise his sympathetic insight much more than his critical faculty. That is for the very good reason that there is a conspicuous paucity of reference to the sentiments of friendship—or in fact to sentiments of any kind whatever, in the original documents and sources of knowledge concerning the settlement of America. Judging by their memorials, the settlers of America were a decidedly unsentimental collection of men and women. They were robust, and hardy, and above all practical. Doubtless it is true of any race or age that the sentimentalist is not the adventurer, not the pioneer. The sentimentalist stays at home, and indulges himself in the familiar delights of his safe and ordered routine of living, and lets his more rugged brother blaze the trail through trackless wildernesses, or plough the unfurrowed ocean to the shores of new worlds. This is noticeably true of the discovery and colonization of America.

When these Western shores began to be settled by more or less permanent attempts, we find that there are two great motives actuating these efforts at colonization—one is the demand for wealth, the other is the demand for religious liberty. To these we might be tempted to add a third motive—the good, old-fashioned, romantic, high-spirited love of adventure. But while this love of adventure might have sung its irresistible paean in the breast of a John Smith

or a Miles Standish, and many a reckless devil-may-care, swash-buckler of Jamestown and Merrymount, one can hardly take it into serious account, for it was purely in the nature of a concomitant. In no case did it either actuate the initial enterprise nor inform the subsequent policy of the undertaking. The two great sober motives were the ones already stated—the demand for wealth, as in the trading posts of Jamestown and New Amsterdam, and the demand for Religious Liberty, as in Maryland, Plymouth, and Massachusetts Bay. Both of these motives were practical and unsentimental. The demand for wealth is, of course, purely practical as a motive. The demand for religious liberty, although it reflects infinitely greater credit, in our judgment, upon those who made the demand and suffered the extremes of hardship in order to gratify it, is still seen to be a practical motive when we remember what religion meant to men and women of that time—how seriously they took it, and how urgent an importance they attached to it.

When we turn these old characters and events into nursery tales, and entertain our children with stories of the Dancing Giant of Patagonia, and of El Dorado, and Balboa in his cask, and the Fountain of Perpetual Youth, and Pochahontas, and the fabulous carrying capacity of the Mayflower, and the first Thanksgiving, and the witches and the ducking-stool—we run the risk of forgetting how dead in earnest these men and women were, how tyrannous and peremptory were their motives, how sober and austere were their purposes. It is next to impossible to find any spot where what we call sentiment entered into their considerations. Especially is this true of our Massachusetts settlers. They were men of exceptional force and depth of character. Their natures were fibrous and hardy. They were bred in a hard school, and their self-reliance was of a sort to inhibit the allurements of

any of the tenderer sentiments of life,—friendship among the rest. They were primarily devoted to principle.

If Mr. Lecky is right in saying that the key note of Anglo-Saxon morality is the sense of duty, then we may find in these men striking instances of the truth of his generalization. Their lives were built upon principle and guided by principle, and no other consideration, however natural or appealing, could break their copper-riveted allegiance to principle. They were fashioned after the pattern of the Older Romans, Brutus and Virginius—capable of sacrificing anything to their principles and their sense of duty. And just as John Knox stood before Mary Queen of Scots, wholly unmoved by the sight of feminine beauty in distress, or just as Melville stood before James his King, utterly impervious to the glamour of royalty, so we discover repeatedly in their humbler Puritan brethren of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay the same imperviousness to all forms of impulse, emotion, or sentiment.

Now while it would be unjust to say that such men are incapable of friendships, it is fair I think to say that their friendships played a decidedly secondary part in the harmony of their spiritual organization. Friendship is too exacting a flower to blossom to any profusion in so austere and unexpansive a spiritual soil. They had their friendships no doubt, but they were not dependent upon their friendships. All their dependence was placed upon principle, and friendships were merely incidental to them. They were altogether too self-contained, spiritually and intellectually, to yield to the blandishments of any cordial passion. In fact one detects in them a deep-seated distrust of all the sweet promptings of the heart. This makes them seem almost inhuman to us, but on the whole it is rather fortunate for us that they were so seemingly inhuman, in their cold, quiet, inflexible allegiance to principle.

Such friendships as they had were based apparently upon mental and not upon emotional congeniality. Agreement in belief, similarity of purpose, like-mindedness, conformity to the supreme ideal—these were the bases of friendship with them, and such friendships are too incidental to be dynamic. It is difficult to find a single instance of a friendship which was able to survive a purely intellectual disagreement, or to subsist independently of this basis of like-mindedness. It is, I think, impossible to find a single instance where any real incompatibility of principle was set aside at the behest of pure friendship, or where any real intellectual disagreement was hushed up, or ignored, or quietly accepted just for the sake of maintaining a relationship of pure friendliness between the disagreeing parties. Friendship was not a factor of primary degree in their processes of motivation. The cement that held them together was not of the heart but of the mind. And no amount of temperamental congeniality could hold them together where there was this radical intellectual disagreement; and on the other hand, no amount of temperamental uncongeniality could hold them apart where there was this essential agreement of mind and purpose.

This fact must be understood before we can do them any sort of justice. It worked both as a blessing and a bane. More than one valuable, upright, able and lovable member was lost to the colony in the Massachusetts Bay simply through this peculiarity. We are told that both Anne Hutchinson and John Wheelright were persons of amiable, winsome dispositions. They were gracious and likable. They had their fair share and perhaps something over, of the natural capacity for friendship. They had a large following of devoted admirers in the Boston church. But both had to go because of purely intellectual disagreements.

The same is true, to a still more conspicuous degree, of Sir Harry Vane, a young, romantic, picturesque, and exceedingly lovable figure, one who might have grown into an invaluable member of the colony—and one whom they did their utmost to keep among them. Yet he found it expedient to return to England, not because he felt himself disliked or underrated, but because he distrusted his ability to entrench himself in their friendship strongly enough to withstand the sundering power of an intellectual disagreement which he foresaw might very soon arise, and which in fact had already cast its shadow across his path. One is inclined to read between the lines, and discern in the tears that he shed upon stating his wish to leave Boston, not so much a grief at having to leave the colony, as a very natural chagrin at his self-confessed inability to cope on anything like equal terms with minds of such ruthless and dispassionate self-consistency. The tragedy of Harry Vane's position lay in the fact that he was too young and too ardent of temper for Massachusetts. He depended upon his ability to win popularity. And when he realized that no amount of mere popularity would make him secure against the attacks which intellectual disagreement would inevitably provoke against him, he very wisely gave it up and returned to England.

These three cases are perhaps the most notorious instances of the impotence of pure friendship to withstand the separation of intellectual incompatibility. On the other hand, I think we can discern in the case of Winthrop and Dudley an instance of the power of essential intellectual agreement to withstand the sundering influence of a purely temperamental uncongeniality, and to close the breach of a purely personal dislike. It seems plain enough that Winthrop and Dudley did not like each other. The basis of their dislike was temperamental. They were the kind of men who would naturally leave

each other severely alone. Perhaps each was a little bit jealous of the other. Perhaps each was a little bit impatient of the other's method of doing things. They rubbed each other the wrong way. And yet this natural antipathy was permanently disguised by the fact of their essential sympathy in matters of intellectual conviction and purpose. Of course it is only fair to add that there was a very tender domestic tie which wrought upon their strong natures. Their children were united in marriage. But that is a side light only. The fact remains that Winthrop and Dudley were reconciled, against the promptings of nature, by their essential harmonies of mind and purpose.

All this lends weight to our proposition that the cement which held these men together was the cement of like-mindedness primarily. They were the exact antithesis of the modern ward politician, who argues with success that if he can get his constituency to like him personally, he can depend upon them to agree with his policies and support his measures. With them just the reverse was true; if they could get into an intellectual agreement, then they could depend upon the friendship and the popularity to follow. Friendship with them was a factor of secondary importance. They were not the kind of folk who could yield to the sweet tyranny and compulsion of friendship. They were men and women of great mental vigor, of profound conviction, of serious purpose, of exceptional force and independency of character. Their lives were guided by principle, and the awful God whom they worshipped revealed His will unto them in these principles which they had accepted, and under the dominion of which they thought and acted and judged and loved and hated.

If then we can make up our minds that considerations of friendship with such men and women constituted at best a minor and decidedly secondary motive force, we may discover a number of instances

where this secondary motive force did come into a certain operation and did exert a certain influence, in the settlement of our own Massachusetts. It is interesting to note that in making their migration to New England, the colonists came over in fairly distinct companies. There was Endicott's company in 1628, Higginson's Company in 1629, Winthrop's Company in 1630, Cotton's Company in 1633, Shepard's Company in 1635, and so forth. It may be that this term "company" owes its origin more to our modern invention than to any warrant of facts in the original cases, yet one cannot resist the temptation to use the term as though justified by those facts, and to see in it, not merely a flocking together of birds of a feather, but a hint of some real bond of friendship and mutual support. It means something surely that in many instances these companies were amalgamated by more than a common Puritanism. They were composed of persons who had lived in the same town or shire, had perhaps worshipped in the same parish church, had become accustomed to the ministrations of the same non-conforming Puritan divine, and had found encouragement and moral support for the unknown hardships of their migration in the comfortable prospect of making the journey together. Surely there is good ground to assume a certain play of friendship, its warmth and support and security, in the organization of these companies. And in one or two cases this assumption is clearly vindicated.

Cotton brought over in 1633 a number of personal admirers and friends, Thomas Leverett who had already found occasion to defend him from persecution in England, and Atherton Hough. Cotton also bespoke for those of his English parish who were still to come over, a cordial and hospitable welcome; and among those who subsequently followed him over was Anne Hutchinson, who, it is well known, made that momentous change because of her ad-

miration and affection for her Pastor. Cotton seems to have led into this new world quite a little following of his St. Botolph parishioners, and we cannot doubt that simple old-fashioned friendship for their pastor had its place in their motives.

Among the reasons that Shepard gives for his migration to New England, he indicated clearly the promptings of friendship. He says: "Divers people in Old England of my dear friends desired me to go to New England, there to live together: and some went before, and writ to me of providing a place for a company of us; one of which was John Bridge; and I saw divers families of my Christian friends who were resolved thither to go with me." It is easy enough to imagine that many a Puritan of Old England, strongly tempted to embark upon this hazardous venture, lacked only the added incentive of a prospect of friendly companionship to tip the scale, and fix his determination. Such a tipping of the scale we can clearly discern in these words of Shepard's. He was a Puritan and a non-conformist—but he was young, and newly married, sensitive to hardships and not free from apprehensions for the future. All he needed was the last argument of friendship—the letter from John Bridge already there, the promise of friends in England that they would follow, the prospect of a little community of congenial spirits living happily together in their new home—this was all he needed to tip the scale and settle the determination. Without that last argument of friendship, Thomas Shepard might never have come to Massachusetts.

And that brings to mind another aspect of the case which, perhaps, may be unwarrantably fanciful, but which I venture to suggest. Those words of Shepard's—"to provide a place for a company of us, there to live together"—seem to indicate in his mind at least a crude, embryonic, community ideal. Are we justified in the surmise that that community

ideal,—the hope of living together as a little social entity, grouped in one plantation, knowing each other, trusting each other, liking and helping and encouraging one another, members of one band, bound together by ties of mutual esteem and affection—are we justified in the surmise that that community ideal was present in more cases than one in their minds and motives? When in 1636 Thomas Hooker led his Cambridge congregation, virtually intact, down to the plantation in the Connecticut valley now known as Hartford, and was speedily followed by the Dorchester and Watertown congregations almost intact to a man, who moved down to Windsor and Wethersfield, we seem to see this community ideal in unmistakable operation. These were not migrations of mere hordes of individuals but of organic communities, keeping unbroken their previous relationships and their organization. Again, when Ezekiel Rogers brought his company over to Quinipiac, was disappointed and dissatisfied with the way the men of Quinipiac had fulfilled, or failed to fulfill, their end of the bargain, and moved his whole company intact, without a single dissentient voice, to Rowley in the Massachusetts Bay, we see still more clearly the existence of this community ideal and community spirit, its cohesion, its organic consistency, and its alluring suggestion of the bond of friendship and interdependence. Obviously this community ideal failed to develop here in Massachusetts. Individualism reasserted itself most flagrantly just as soon as novelty with its terrors had worn off, and growing familiarity with the rigors of this new life had rendered the refuge of the community ideal no longer necessary. But that the community ideal played some temporary part in the settlement of Massachusetts seems pretty well indicated.

Of course the notable instance of the community ideal, is to be found in Plymouth. Our hearts warm to Plymouth. They hung together for a whole

generation, if not longer. Their organic life began in Brewster's manor house in Scrooby; it was strengthened throughout their sojourn in Holland, it reached its sweetest and most touching development on that memorable night in Delfthaven which preceded the departure of the *Speedwell*, and which was spent in loving farewells, in tears and hopes and promises of speedy reunion, between those who were going and those who were staying; it even reached the point of the common purse, the sharing all things in common and defraying all expenses from a common treasury. And during those first three years in New England, what man shall compute the value and the resource of that community spirit; who can say what would have become of that brave little company if they had not stood by each other, not merely as intellectual compatibles, but as generous and patient friends, helping each other, trusting each other, encouraging each other, and sincerely and devotedly loving each other.

Mention has frequently been made of the difference between the Plymouth men and the Massachusetts men. This difference appears at more than one spot, and is of the sort to make more possible the existence and the full play of the sentiment of friendship in the Plymouth men than in the Massachusetts men. The Massachusetts men were men of worldly substance and education. They were drawn from the higher stations in life. They were men accustomed to public responsibility, accustomed to social and political responsibility. Their coming to New England was in no sense a withdrawal from the political and institutional life of Old England. They came to New England as loyal citizens of Old England, and they came with the purpose of building up in New England a purified Church and State to which their like-minded brethren could resort in case the liberties of Old England should be destroyed. They felt themselves to be the torch bearers of a better social order,

the builders of a refuge in the New World. As such they felt that the eyes of England were upon them and that they were answerable not only unto themselves, but unto their solicitous brethren in the Old Country, who looked upon them as the advance guard of a great Puritan Exodus which might very possibly become necessary. With this great sense of responsibility to others resting upon them, we can easily see why the Massachusetts men took themselves so seriously, why they were so rigid in their allegiance to their Puritanical principles, and why the tenderer and more private sentiments of life, such as friendship, were relegated to a secondary place in their scale of values. They were the trustees of a great and holy commission and as such they had no right and no inclination to indulge personal proclivities.

The Plymouth men, on the other hand, were folk of humbler means, humbler attainments, and humbler walk in life. Their sense of civic responsibility was much less vivid. They felt that nobody cared what they did. Their act in leaving England was virtually an act of separation from England. It was avowedly an act of separation from the Church of England. And why should they not separate? Humble and obscure folk as they were, with little or no voice in public affairs, they felt that England cared nothing for their separation, that England would lose nothing by that separation, while they themselves would gain a great deal. Their whole psychology was the psychology of the separatist. They were not responsible to any but their own conscience. They were not objects of a concentrated and solicitous watchfulness. Nobody cared what they did. They were free to shape their own destiny and indulge their own honest and spontaneous personal proclivities. In such an atmosphere the finer sentiments of life found a much warmer hospitality and a much freer expression. Among these finer sentiments of life we rejoice to recognize friendship.

It is to Plymouth rather than to Massachusetts that we must look, therefore, for any considerable part that friendship may have played in the settlement of this Commonwealth. The Massachusetts men felt that they were working out a destiny greater than themselves and it was inevitable that they should give their foremost uninterrupted allegiance to the principles upon which that destiny was built. But the Plymouth men, dwelling contentedly in their little Valley of Humiliation, felt that their destiny held no significance for any but themselves, and while they were men of principle, yet their principles were not of the sort to inhibit the full play of natural self-expressions, among which we may gratefully recognize the mutual dependence and loyalty and support, the helpfulness and the sympathy—in short, the friendship for and with each other, which was both the life and the salvation of their little community.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS, 1690-1820.

PART IX: NEW YORK (M-W).

EXCEPTING NEW YORK CITY

COMPILED BY CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM

The following bibliography attempts, first, to present a historical sketch of every newspaper printed in the United States from 1690 to 1820; secondly, to locate all files found in the various libraries of the country; and thirdly, to give a complete check list of the issues in the library of the American Antiquarian Society.

The historical sketch of each paper gives the title, the date of establishment, the name of the editor or publisher, the frequency of issue and the date of discontinuance. It also attempts to give the exact date of issue when a change in title or name of publisher or frequency of publication occurs.

In locating files to be found in various libraries, no attempt is made to list every issue. In the case of common papers which are to be found in many libraries, only the longer files are noted, with a description of their completeness. Rare newspapers, which are known by only a few scattered issues, are minutely listed.

The check list of the issues in the library of the American Antiquarian Society follows the style of the Library of Congress "Check List of Eighteenth Century Newspapers," and records all supplements, missing issues and mutilations.

The arrangement is alphabetical by States and towns. Towns are placed according to their present State location. For convenience of alphabetization, the initial "The" in the titles of papers is disregarded. Papers are considered to be of

folio size, unless otherwise stated. There are no abbreviations except in the names of the libraries where files are located, and these should be easily understood. A superior italic "m" is used in the listing of the Society's files to signify mutilated copy. The bibliography includes only newspapers, and does not list magazines; the distinction has sometimes been difficult to draw, but the test has generally been the inclusion of current news. Neither in the historical sketches nor in the listing of files is any account taken of the existence of the paper after 1820.

All files, except in a few instances, have been personally examined by the compiler of this list, and the facts stated have been drawn from an inspection of the papers themselves and not based on secondary authorities.

The bibliography will be published in the Proceedings in about twelve installments, after which the material will be gathered into a volume, with a historical introduction, acknowledgment of assistance rendered, and a comprehensive index of titles and names of printers. Reprints of each installment will not be made, nor will the names of papers or printers be indexed in the Proceedings. Since the material will all be held in type until after the printing of the final installment, the compiler will welcome additions and corrections.

NEW YORK

[Malone] Franklin Telegraph, 1820+.

Weekly. Established Aug. 31, 1820, by Francis Burnap, with the title of "Franklin Telegraph."

Wead Lib., Malone, has Sept. 7-Dec. 28, 1820.

[Manlius] Derne Gazette, 1806-1807.

Established at Manlius by Abraham Romeyn in July, 1806, at which time the effort was made to change the name of the village from Manlius to Derne. It was discontinued in a little over a year. (Munsell, "Typographical Miscellany," pp. 102, 105, and J. V. H. Clark, "Onondaga", vol. 2, p. 222). No copy located.

[Manlius] Herald of the Times, 1808-1809.

Weekly. Established in May, 1808, judging from the date of the only issue located, that of Jan. 31, 1809, published by Leonard Kellogg, with the title of "Herald of the Times". (J. V. H. Clark, in his "Onondaga", 1849, vol. 2, p. 222, states that it was established May 24, 1808). In 1809, before July 18, the title was changed to "Manlius Times", which see.

A. A. S. has:

1809. Jan. 31.

[Manlius] Onondaga Herald, 1818.

Weekly. Established Oct. 28, 1818, by Daniel Clark, with the title of "The Onondaga Herald", in continuation of the "Manlius Times" (J. V. H. Clark "Onondaga", vol. 2, p. 223). No copy located.

[Manlius] Spirit of the Press, 1816-1817.

The "Columbian Gazette", Utica, Jan. 7, 1817, states that "A republican paper, under this title, 'Spirit of the Press', has been commenced at Manlius, by S. H. Moore". No copy located.

Manlius Times, 1809-1818.

Weekly. A continuation, without change of numbering, of the "Herald of the Times." The change of title occurred during the first part of the year 1809, the earliest issue located being that of July 18, 1809, vol. 2, no. 61, published by Leonard Kellogg, with the title of "Manlius Times." At some time between 1814 and 1817, Daniel Clark was evidently admitted to the firm, as the "Auburn Gazette" of May 28, 1817, records the death, upon May 22, of Leonard Kellogg, of Kellogg & Clark, publishers of the "Manlius Times." J. V. H. Clark, in his "Onondaga," 1849, vol. 2, p. 223, states that the paper was successively issued by James Beardsley, Seneca Hale and Daniel Clark, and that on Oct. 28, 1818, the title was changed to "Onondaga Herald." The list of New York newspapers of Jan. 1, 1818 (Munsell, "Typographical Miscellany," p. 132) lists the paper as published by D. C. Clark.

N. Y. Pub. Lib. has July 18, 1809; Sept. 8, 1812; June 29, 1813; Mar. 8, 1814. Harvard has Apr. 20, 1813. Buffalo Hist. Soc. has Jan. 4, 1814. A. A. S. has:

1810. Jan. 9.
Apr. 3.
May 15.
June 19.
July 17, 24.
Sept. 18.

1811. Mar. 12, 19.
June 25.
July 30.
Aug. 6.

1818. Extra: Jan. 31.

[Martinsburgh] Black River Gazette, 1807-1808.

Weekly. Established Mar. 10, 1807, by James B. Robbins, with the title of the "Black River Gazette" and continued a year (see F. B. Hough, History of Lewis County, 1860, p. 284). No copy located.

[Mayville] Chautauque Eagle, 1819-1820.

Weekly. Established May 15, 1819, by R[obert] I. Curtis, with the title of "The Chautauque Eagle." The last issue located is that of Apr. 4, 1820, vol. 1, no. 47.

Prendergast Lib., Jamestown, N. Y., has May 15, 1819-Apr. 4, 1820.

[Montgomery] Independent Republican, 1813-1816.

Weekly. Established Jan. 26, 1813, by Luther Pratt, with the title of "Independent Republican." The last Montgomery issue located is that of Oct. 8, 1816, vol. 4, no. 30. On Oct. 21, 1816, an agreement was signed by which a group of proprietors residing in Goshen purchased the paper and transferred it to Goshen, where it was continued without change of title or volume numbering. The original agreement is in the possession of Frank Drake, of Goshen, N. Y. For further issues see under Goshen.

Newburgh Lib. has June 15-Oct. 5, 1813; Jan. 4-Feb. 22, 1814. Frank Drake, Goshen, has Oct. 31, 1813; Mar. 21, 1815; Oct. 8, 1816. A. A. S. has:

1813. Jan. 26.

1814. Nov. 15^m.

1816. July 30.

Aug. 13.

[Montgomery] Orange County Republican, 1806, see under Wardsbridge.**[Morrisville] Madison County Gazette, 1817-1818.**

Weekly. Established in May, 1817, according to the issue of Apr. 23, 1818, vol. 1, no. 47, published by John B. Johnson & Son, at Morris Flats, with the title of "Madison County Gazette." French, in the "Gazetteer of New York," 1860, p. 389, says that it was established at Peterboro in May, 1817, by John B. Johnson & Son, with the title of "The Gazette and Madison County Advertiser," removed to Morrisville in 1819, and discontinued in 1822. The list of newspapers of Jan. 1, 1818 (Munsell, "Typographical Miscellany," p. 132), records

the "Madison Gazette" as published by John B. Johnson & Son at Hamilton.

N. Y. Pub. Lib. has Apr. 23, 1818.

Moscow Advertiser and Genesee Farmer, 1817-1820+.

Established in 1817 by Hezekiah Ripley and continued by him until after 1820 (Follett, "Press of Western New York," p. 62). In a record of newspapers of Jan. 1, 1818, it is listed as the "Genesee Farmer" (Munsell, "Typographical Miscellany," p. 133). No copy located.

Mount Pleasant] Impartial Gazette, 1800.

Weekly. Established July 15, 1800, judging from the date of the only issue located, that of July 22, 1800, vol. 1 no. 2, published by Russel Canfield, with the title of "Impartial Gazette," Canfield printed at Mount Pleasant in 1800 and 1801.

Conn. Hist. Soc. has July 22, 1800.

[Mount Pleasant] Westchester Herald, 1818-1820+.

Weekly. Established Jan. 15, 1818, with the title of "Westchester Herald, and Farmers' Register," printed by J[] A. Cameron, for S[tephen] Addington. According to the imprint, it was published in the town of Mount-Pleasant, but in the village of Sing-Sing. With the issue of Feb. 17, 1818, it was published by Stephen Addington and printed by S[tephen] Marshall. With the issue of Feb. 24, 1818, the title was shortened to "Westchester Herald." With the issue of Oct. 19, 1819, the paper was printed by S. Marshall for the Proprietor [Joshua Brooks]. With the issue of Dec. 28, 1819, it was printed and published by Stephen Marshall and was so continued until after 1820.

N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Jan. 28, 1818-Dec. 26, 1820.
A. A. S. has:

1818. Jan. 15 to Dec. 29.

Mutilated: June 16, Sept. 8, Oct. 6.

1819. Jan. 5 to Dec. 28.

Mutilated: Dec. 28.

Missing: Nov. 2.

1820. Jan. 4 to Dec. 26.

Mutilated: Jan. 4, 11, Feb. 15, Apr. 25, June 13, 20, July 25, Sept. 5, 12, Oct. 10.

New Hartford, see under **Whitestown Gazette**, 1793.

New-Windsor Gazette, 1797 - 1799.

Weekly. Established Nov. 14, 1797, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Jan. 16, 1798, vol. 1, no. 10, published by Jacob Schultz & Abraham Lott, with the title of "The New-Windsor Gazette." In 1799 it was discontinued and removed to Newburgh, where it was re-established as "The Orange County Gazette."

Newburgh Free Lib. has Jan. 16, 1798. Harvard has Aug. 28, 1798.

[Newburgh] Mirror, 1797 - 1799.

Weekly. Established in September, 1797, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Oct. 15, 1798, vol. 2, no. 3, published by Philip Van Horne, with the title of "The Mirror." In November, 1798, the paper was transferred to J[oseph] W. Barber. The last issue located is that of July 9, 1799, vol. 2, no. 42.

Newburgh Free Lib. has Oct. 22, 1798; May 28, June 4 - July 9, 1799. Harvard has May 28, 1799. A. A. S. has:

1798. Oct. 15, 22.
Nov. 26.
Dec. 10.

[Newburgh] Orange County Gazette, 1799.

Weekly. Established Dec. 17, 1799, judging from the date of the only issue located, that of Dec. 31, 1799, vol. 1, no. 3, published by J[acob] Schultz, and J[oseph] W. Barber, with the title of "The Orange County Gazette." N. Y. Pub. Lib. has Dec. 31, 1799.

[Newburgh] Orange County Gazette, 1819.

Weekly. A continuation, without change of volume numbering, of the "Orange County Gazette" of Goshen.

The paper was removed from Goshen to Newburgh in 1818 or 1819, and the only issue located is that of Nov. 22, 1819, vol 12, no. 36, entitled "The Orange County Gazette, and Newburgh Public Advertiser," of quarto size, but without publisher's name or imprint.

N. Y. Pub. Lib. has Nov. 22, 1819.

[Newburgh] *Orange County Patriot*, 1811-1812, see under Goshen.

Newburgh Packet, 1793-1795.

Weekly. Established in December, 1793, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Feb. 3, 1795, vol. 2, no. 62, published by Lucius Carey, with the title of "The Newburgh Packet." The last issue located is that of Apr. 21, 1795, vol. 2, no. 73. Carey removed to Geneva in 1796.

Albany Inst. has Feb. 3-Apr. 21, 1795.

[Newburgh] *Political Index*, 1806-1820+.

Weekly. Established Apr. 17, 1806, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of May 1, 1806, vol. 1, no. 3, published by Ward M. Gazlay, with the title of "Political Index." Continued by Gazlay until after 1820.

Newburgh Free Lib. has May 8, 1806-Dec. 15, 1812; Apr. 27, Aug. 31, Nov. 23, 1813; Jan. 4, Mar. 15, May 24, June 7, Nov. 1, 1814; July 18, 1815; May 7-July 23, Aug. 20, Sept. 3, 17-Oct. 22, Nov. 26-Dec. 31, 1816; Jan. 7, 1817-Dec. 26, 1820. N. Y. Pub. Lib. has May 1, 1806-May 21, 1807. Harvard has Sept. 4-18, Oct. 16, 1806. N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Feb. 5, 1811-Apr. 6, 1813. Albany Inst. has Mar. 29, 1809; Mar. 13, 1810; Mar. 26, Apr. 23, 1811; Jan. 7, 14, July 14, Nov. 24, 1812; Mar. 15, 1814. Lib. Congress has Jan. 4-July 25, Oct. 31-Dec. 26, 1820. A. A. S. has:

1806. Apr. 17 to Dec. 25.

Mutilated: May 22, July 3, 24, 31, Aug. 7, 21, Sept. 11, Oct. 9, Nov. 6.

Missing: Apr. 17, 24.

1807. Jan. 1 to Dec. 30.
Mutilated: Jan. 8, 22, Feb. 12, 26, Mar.
19, Apr. 30, May 7, 14, 28, June 3, 24,
July 1, 15, 22, 29, Sept. 2-Oct. 7.
Missing: Feb. 19, Oct. 14-Dec. 30.
1808. Feb. 17.
June 22.
1809. Mar. 8.
1811. Aug. 27.
Sept. 3, 10, 17.
Oct. 1, 15, 22, 29.
Nov. 10.
Dec. 24.
1812. Jan. 21.
Feb. 4, 18.
Mar. 3, 10, 17, 31.
Apr. 7, 14, 21.
May 12.
June 2.
July 7, 14, 21.
Nov. 17.
Dec. 1, 8.
1813. Apr. 20.
Aug. 10.
Oct. 12.
Nov. 2, 16.
Dec. 7, 21.
1814. May 10.
1815. Dec. 12^m.
1818. June 16.

[Newburgh] Recorder of the Times, 1803-1806.

Weekly. Established June 22, 1803, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Aug. 3, 1803, vol. 1, no. 7, published by Dennis Coles, with the title of "Recorder of the Times." The last issue located is that of Aug. 22, 1805, vol. 3, no. 10. Discontinued early in 1806.

Harvard has May 30, June 20-Nov. 21, 1804, fair; Jan. 17, Feb. 7-28, May 16, June 6, 20, July 18, Aug. 1, 22, 1805. Newburgh Free Lib. has Aug. 29, 1804; Carrier's Address, Jan. 1, 1804. A. A. S. has:

1803. Aug. 3.

1804. Feb. 8.

Newburgh Republican, 1811.

Weekly. Established Jan. 15, 1811, judging from the earliest issue located, that of Feb. 5, 1811, vol. 1, no. 4, published by Eldad Lewis, with the title of "The Newburgh Republican." The last issue located is that of Mar 12, 1811, vol. 1, no. 9. It was discontinued with the succeeding issue, and was then combined with the "Orange County Patriot," which was removed from Goshen to Newburgh. See under Goshen—Orange County Patriot.

A. A. S. has:

1811. Feb. 5^m.

Mar. 5, 12.

[Newburgh] Rights of Man, 1799-1806.

Weekly. Established in November, 1799, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Apr. 14, 1800, vol. 1, no. 24, published by Benoni H. Howell, for Elias Winfield, with the title of "The Rights of Man." At some time between Aug. 25 and Oct. 20, 1800, Howell retired and the paper was printed by Elias Winfield. In January, 1801, Dennis Coles became the publisher and started a new volume numbering. In January, 1803, the paper was transferred to Robert Hinchman, the word "The" was dropped from the title and a new volume numbering was again adopted. David Denniston became editor of the paper soon after April, 1803, although his name was not given in the imprint, but died Dec. 13, 1803. With the issue of Apr. 9, 1804, Hinchman retired, and Thomas Wilson became the publisher and continued the paper to the date of the last issue located, that of Mar. 13, 1806, vol. 4, no. 10. Wilson went to Poughkeepsie, to establish "The Farmer," in April, 1806.

Newburgh Free Lib. has Apr. 14-28, Oct. 20, 1800; May 13, 1802; Aug. 15, 1803; Mar. 5, July 23, 1804-Jan. 14, 1805. Harvard has Aug. 18, 1800; Apr. 12, 1803; Jan. 7, 14, 28, Feb. 4, 25, Mar. 18, Apr. 29, May 6, June 4, 18, 25, July 9, 16, Aug. 13, 27-Oct. 9, 23, Nov. 20, Dec. 4, 11, 25, 1805; Jan. 1, 22-Feb. 12, 27, Mar. 13, 1806. N. Y. Pub. Lib. has Nov. 3, 1800. Rutgers Coll. has Jan. 28, 1805. Adriaance Lib., Poughkeepsie, has Jan. 22, 1806. A. A. S. has:

1801. May 26.

1803. Sept. 12.
Nov. 14.

1804. Jan. 9.
Mar. 5, 12.
Apr. 9.
May 21.
June 11.

1805. Sept. 3.

[Newtown] Investigator, 1819-1820+.

Weekly. Established in December, 1819, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Sept. 1, 1821, vol. 2, no. 88. The publisher was Job Smith (French, "Gazetteer of New York," 1860, p. 218). Newtown was the former name of Elmira.

[Newtown] Telegraph, 1815-1818.

Weekly. Established in November, 1815, judging from the date of the first and only issue located, that of Sept. 9, 1817, vol. 2, no. 45, published at Newtown Village [now Elmira] by W[illiam] Murphy, with the title of "The Telegraph." There is a reference to the Newtown Telegraph in the "Federal Republican," Baltimore, of Sept. 30, 1816. In a list of New York newspapers of Jan. 1, 1818, it is recorded as published by A[] & E[] Harkness (Munsell, "Typographical Miscellany," p. 132). The paper was succeeded in 1818 by "The Vedette."

N. Y. Pub. Lib. has Sept. 9, 1817.

[Newtown] Vedette, 1818-1819.

Weekly. Established July 4, 1818, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Aug. 15, 1818, vol. 1, no. 7, published by W[illiam] Murphy, with the title of "The Vedette." The last issue located is that of July 10, 1819.

A. A. S. has:

1818. Aug. 15^m.

1819. July 10.

Norwich Journal, 1816-1820+.

Weekly. Established Nov. 14, 1816, by J[ohn] F. Hubbard, with the title of "The Norwich Journal," and so continued until after 1820.

Norwich Journal has Nov. 14, 1816-Dec. 20, 1820.

[Norwich] Olive Branch, 1808.

Weekly. Removed from Sherburne and established at Norwich without change of title or volume numbering. The first issue at Norwich was that of Feb. 13, 1808, vol. 2, no. 91, published by John F. Fairchild & Co., with the title of "Olive Branch." The last issue located is that of Mar. 26, 1808, vol. 2, no. 97.

N. Y. State Lib. has Feb. 13-Mar. 26, 1808.

[Norwich] Republican Agriculturist, 1818-1820.

Weekly. Established Dec. 10, 1818, by Thurlow Weed, with the title of "Republican Agriculturist, and continued by him for about fourteen months (French, "Gazetteer of New York," p. 224, and Howell & Tenney, "History of Albany County," p. 373). No copy located.

[Norwich] Telegraph, 1812-1814.

Weekly. Established in August, 1812, judging from the date of the first and only issue located, that of Jan. 18, 1814, vol. 2, no. 75, published by James M. Miller, with the title of "The Telegraph."

Municipal Museum, Rochester, has Jan. 18, 1814.

[Norwich] Volunteer, 1814-1816.

Weekly. Established Oct. 4, 1814, with the title of "The Volunteer," printed by James M. Miller, for Lot Clark. The issue of Feb. 7, 1816, vol. 2, no. 71, the last located, was printed by John Burgess Johnson.

Harvard has Oct. 4, 1814. Lib. Congress has Feb. 7, 1816.

Ogdensburgh Palladium, 1810-1814.

Weekly. Established Nov. 27, 1810, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Feb. 19, 1811, vol. 1, no. 13, published by Kipp & Strong (John C. Kipp and Timothy C. Strong), with the title of "Ogdensburgh Palladium, and St. Lawrence Advertiser." At some time between Feb. 26 and Apr. 23, 1811, Strong retired and the paper was published by J. C. & L. Kip (John C. and L— Kip). Late in 1812, the paper was purchased and published by John P. Sheldon, who continued it until 1814.

N. Y. Pub. Lib. has Aug. 13, 1811. A. A. S. has:

1811. Feb. 19.

Apr. 23.

July 30.

1813. Feb. 3.

[Ogdensburgh] St. Lawrence Gazette, 1815-1820+.

Weekly. Established in December, 1815, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Dec. 23, 1817, vol. 3, no. 105, published by Strachan & Fairchild, with the title of "St. Lawrence Gazette." In a sketch of the county press written before 1850 from papers then in existence, it is stated that the "St. Lawrence Gazette" was established by David R. Strachan and Platt B. Fairchild, and was continued by them until after 1820 (Munsell, "Typographical Miscellany," p. 113).

N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Dec. 23, 1817-Dec. 22, 1818.

[Olean] Hamilton Recorder, see under Hamilton.

[Onondaga] Gazette, 1816-1820+.

Weekly. Established in January, 1816, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Apr. 24, 1816, vol. 1, no. 14, published by Evander Morse, Jun., with the title of "Gazette; and Onondaga Advertiser," issued at Onondaga Court House. William Ray edited the paper, but retired in October, 1816 (see "Advocate of the People," Auburn, Oct. 2, 30, 1816). Morse was the publisher certainly as late as January, 1818 (see "Albany Argus," Jan. 6, 1818). Continued until after 1820.

Long Id. Hist. Soc. has Apr. 24, 1816. A. A. S. has:

1816. Sept. 25.

Oct. 2^m.

1817. July 9.

[Onondaga] Lynx, 1811-1812.

Weekly. Established at Onondaga Hollow in December, 1811, by Thomas C. Fay, with the title of "The Lynx." In September, 1812, the name of Thurlow Weed appeared as printer and publisher, and in October, 1812, the paper was discontinued (see J. V. H. Clark, "Onondaga," 1849, vol. 2, p. 132, and Thurlow Weed, "Selections from Newspaper Articles," 1877, pp. 14, 16). No copy located.

Onondaga Register, 1814-1820+.

Weekly. Established Sept. 28, 1814, by L[ewis] H. Redfield & Co., with the title of "Onondaga Register," printed at Onondaga Hollow. In April, 1817, the paper was published by Redfield & Morse (Lewis H. Redfield and — Morse), and the title was altered to "The Onondaga Register." In 1818 Lewis H. Redfield became sole publisher. Continued until after 1820.

N. Y. Pub. Lib. has Oct. 26, 1814. Long Id. Hist. Soc. has May 7, 1817. A. A. S. has:

1814. Sept. 28^m.

1817. Apr. 30.

1818. Sept. 23^m.

Dec. 30.

Oswego Gazette, 1817-1819.

Weekly. Established in 1817 by S[eth] A. Abbey & Bro., and by them transferred to Augustus Buckingham ("History of Oswego County," 1877, p. 117). In a list of New York newspapers of Jan. 1, 1818, published in the "Albany Argus" of Jan. 6, 1818, it is recorded as published by A. Buckingham. It was succeeded in 1819 by the "Oswego Palladium." No copy located.

Oswego Palladium, 1819-1820+.

Weekly. Established Oct. 7, 1819, by John Haines Lord, Jun., with the title of "Oswego Palladium." Continued by him until after 1820.

Oswego City Lib. has Oct. 14, 1819-Nov. 2, 1820.

Otsego Herald, 1807-1813, see under Cooperstown.**Ovid Gazette, 1817-1818.**

Established apparently in 1817, succeeding the "Seneca Patriot." It appears in a list of newspapers of Jan. 1, 1818 ("Albany Argus," Jan. 6, 1818), where the name of Michael Hayes is given as the publisher. No copy located.

[Ovid] Seneca Patriot, 1815-1817.

Weekly. Established Aug. 25, 1815, by George Lewis & Co., with the title of "Seneca Patriot." Lewis is given as the editor as late as October, 1816 ("Advocate of the People," Auburn, Oct. 30, 1816), and continued until May, 1817 (see Munsell's "Typographical Miscellany," p. 128).

N. Y. Pub. Lib. has Sept. 8, 1815. A. A. S. has:

1815. Aug. 25.

Sept. 1, 8, 15.

Oct. 6.

[Owego] American Farmer, 1803-1814.

Weekly. Established Aug. 24, 1803, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Sept. 14, 1803, vol. 1, no. 4, published by Steward & Mack (Henry Steward and Stephen Mack), with the title of "American

Farmer." The imprint states that it was published at "Tioga, (Owego Village, N. Y.)." Early in 1804, Steward sold out his interest, and the paper was published by Stephen Mack alone. In the winter of 1813, Stephen B. Leonard purchased a half interest. Mack died Apr. 16, 1814, and in June, 1814, Leonard discontinued the paper under its early title, changing the name to "The Owego Gazette" (see history of paper in "Owego Gazette" of Nov. 22, 1900).

Harvard has Sept. 14, 21, Oct. 5, 1803; Oct. 24, 31, 1804. L. W. Kingman, Owego, has Mar. 13, July 29, 1807; Feb. 8, 1809; Oct. 9, 1811. A. A. S. has:

1803. Sept. 14.

Oct. 26.

1810. July 11, 18.

Owego Gazette, 1814-1820+.

Weekly. Established in June, 1814, by Stephen B. Leonard, with the title of "The Owego Gazette," succeeding the "American Farmer." On June 15, 1815, Ebenezer Mack entered into partnership with Leonard (see "Owego Gazette" of Nov. 22, 1900), but the partnership did not last long, expiring before February, 1816, when Stephen B. Leonard was again sole publisher. The paper was continued by Leonard until after 1820.

LeRoy W. Kingman, Owego, has Dec. 14, 1814; Jan. 19, Mar. 30, Aug. 3, 24, 31, Sept. 21, Oct. 5, 19, 1819; Aug. 22, 1820. Cornell Lib. has Feb. 13, 20, 1816. Lib. Congress has Feb. 17, 1816.

[Owego] National Whig, 1801-1803.

Weekly. Established by Daniel Cruger, Jun., at Owego, to which town Cruger removed from Union late in 1801. He sold his establishment to Steward & Mack in August, 1803. These publishers changed the title to the "American Farmer," stating in an advertisement in that paper in the issue of Sept. 14, 1803, that they had purchased Cruger's establishment and were sending the new paper to all the former subscribers of the "National Whig." No copy located.

[Oxford] Chenango Patriot, 1809-1811.

Weekly. Established in April, 1809, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Aug. 7, 1810, vol. 2, no. 11, published by John B. Johnson, with the title of "Chenango Patriot." The last issue located is that of Jan. 29, 1811.

Review-Times office, Oxford, has Jan. 29, 1811.

A. A. S. has:

1810. Aug. 7.

Oxford Gazette, 1813-1820+.

Established Dec. 7, 1813, by Chauncey Morgan, with the title of "Oxford Gazette," and so continued until after 1820.

Oxford Lib. has Dec. 7, 1813-Dec. 27, 1820.

[Oxford] President, 1808.

Weekly. Established Feb. 27, 1808, judging from the date of the first and only issue located, that of Apr. 2, 1808, vol. 1, no. 6, published by Theophilus Eaton, with the title of "The President."

A. A. S. has:

1808. Apr. 2.

Palmyra Register, 1817-1820+.

Weekly. Established Nov. 26, 1817, by Timothy C. Strong, with the title of "The Palmyra Register," and continued until after 1820 (see Follett, "Press of Western New-York", 1847, p. 63, and Munsell, "Typographical Miscellany," p. 133). No copy located..

[Peekskill] Westchester Gazette, 1808-1820+.

Weekly. Established in October, 1808, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Aug. 28, 1810, vol. 2, no. 96, published by Robert Crumbie, with the title of "Westchester Gazette; and Peekskill Advertiser." The issue of Aug. 3, 1812, has this same title, but the next issue located, that of Apr. 9, 1814, is entitled "Westchester & Putnam Gazette." Crumbie was the publisher as late as April, 1818, when the title was "Westchester Gazette." The paper was continued until after 1820.

N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Aug. 3, 1812. Albany Inst. has Apr. 9, 1814. Franklin Couch, Peekskill, has Apr. 25, 1818. A. A. S. has:

1810. Aug. 28.

Penn-Yan Herald, 1818-1820+.

Weekly. Established in May, 1818, judging from the date of the first and only copy located, that of Jan. 25, 1820, vol. 2, no. 90, published by A[braham] H. Bennett, with the title of "The Penn-Yan Herald." There is a reference to its establishment in the "Auburn Gazette" of May 27, 1818, and to the marriage on Oct. 4, of Abraham H. Bennett, "one of the editors," in the issue of Oct. 14, 1818.

A. A. S. has:

1820. Jan. 25.

[Peterboro] Freeholder, 1807-1813.

Weekly. Established in January, 1807, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of June 27, 1810, vol. 4, no. 179, published by Jonathan Bunce, & Co., with the title of "The Freeholder." At some time between May 8, 1811 and Jan. 29, 1812, vol. 6, no. 262, Jonathan Bunce became sole proprietor. In J. H. Smith's "History of Chenango and Madison Counties," p. 691, it is stated that this paper was established as the "Madison Freeholder" in 1808 by Peter Smith, who employed Jonathan Bunce to edit it, and that the name was changed to "The Freeholder," and in 1813 to the "Madison County Herald." Bunce's printing-office was destroyed by fire, Jan. 18, 1813 (Munsell, "Typographical Miscellany," p. 118).

N. Y. Pub. Lib. has Dec. 26, 1810; May 8, 1811; Jan. 29, 1812. A. A. S. has:

1810. June 27.

[Peterboro] Gazette, 1817, see under Morrisville.

[Peterboro] Madison County Herald, 1813-1819.

Established in 1813 by Jonathan Bunce, with the title of "Madison County Herald" (Munsell, "Typographical

Miscellany," p. 119). It is recorded in a list of New York newspapers given in the "Albany Argus" of Dec. 26, 1815, and also in a list in the "Albany Argus" of Jan. 6, 1818, where the editor is given as Jonathan Bunce. No copy located.

[Plattsburgh] American Monitor, 1809-1810.

Weekly. Established Aug. 4, 1809, by Nichols & Lowell (George W. Nichols and Samuel Lowell), with the title of "American Monitor." On Sept. 1, 1809, Lowell was replaced by — Marsh, and the paper was published by Nichols & Marsh. In October, 1809, Samuel Lowell became sole publisher. The paper was suspended with the issue of Nov. 10, 1810, vol. 2, no. 63, being succeeded by "The Clinton Advertiser."

A. A. S. has:

1809. Aug. 4, 11, 18.

Sept. 22, 29.

Oct. 14.

Nov. 11, 18^m.

Dec. 16.

1810. Jan. 6, 13, 20.

Feb. 3, 17.

Mar. 3, 17, 31.

Apr. 7, 28.

May 12.

June 16, 23, 30.

July 7, 14, 28.

Aug. 4, 18, 25.

Sept. 8, 22, 29.

Oct. 6, 13, 20, 27.

Nov. 3, 10.

[Plattsburgh] Clinton Advertiser, 1810-1811.

Weekly. Established Nov. 17, 1810, by Samuel Lowell, with the title of "The Clinton Advertiser." It was of quarto size, and succeeded the "American Monitor," continuing the advertisements, but adopting a new volume numbering. It was succeeded in March, 1811, by the "Political Observatory."

A. A. S. has:

1810. Nov. 17.

1811. Jan. 12.

[Plattsburgh] Northern Herald, 1812-1815.

Weekly. Established Jan. 4, 1812, by Samuel Lowell, with the title of "The Northern Herald." It succeeded his other paper, the "Political Observatory," continuing the advertisements, but adopting a new volume numbering. In April, 1813, judging from later issues, the paper was printed by Frederic C. Powell, for the Proprietor, a new volume numbering being started. Early in 1814, it was printed by F. C. Powell for the Proprietors. The last issue located is that of Aug. 26, 1814, vol. 2, no. 21. In a list of currently issued newspapers printed in the "Albany Argus" of Dec. 26, 1815, is recorded the Plattsburgh Herald, which would indicate a change of title.

A. A. S. has:

1812. Jan. 11.

1813. Oct. 26.

Dec. 23.

1814. July 1.

Aug. 26.

[Plattsburgh] Political Observatory, 1811.

Weekly. Established Mar. 29, 1811, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Apr. 12, 1811, vol. 1, no. 3, published by Samuel Lowell, with the title of "Political Observatory." It succeeded "The Clinton Advertiser," continuing the advertisements, but adopting a new volume numbering. It was suspended with the issue of Dec. 28, 1811, to be succeeded by "The Northern Herald."

A. A. S. has:

1811. Apr. 12.

May 4, 11, 18.

June 8, 15, 22, 29.

July 6, 13, 27.

Aug. 3, 10, 17, 24.

[Plattsburgh] Republican, 1811-1820+.

Weekly. Established Apr. 13, 1811, with the title of "Republican," printed for the Proprietors, by L[] J. Reynolds. In October, 1811, it was printed by Cady & Flagg (Heman Cady and Azariah C. Flagg), for the Proprietors; but with the issue of Nov. 8, 1811, it was printed by Azariah C. Flagg, for the Proprietors. In October, 1813, the title was changed to "Plattsburgh Republican." The paper was continued by Flagg until after 1820.

Harvard has July 19, 1811-Dec. 24, 1814, scattering issues. N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Mar. 18, Apr. 8, 1815. A. A. S. has:

- 1811. Apr. 20.
May, 3, 10, 17, 24, 31.
June 7, 14, 21, 28.
July 12, 19, 26.
Aug. 16.
Sept. 13.
Oct. 4, 25.
Nov. 1, 8, 15, 22, 29.
- 1812. Sept. 4, 18.
- 1813. Jan. 8.
Apr. 16, 30.
May 7.
Aug. 28.
Sept. 4.
Oct. 16, 23.
Dec. 11, 25.
- 1814. June 11.
Oct. 29.
Dec. 17.
- 1815. Jan. 28.
May 20.
Aug. 26.
Sept. 16.
Oct. 21.
Dec. 2.

1816. Apr. 13.

May 18.

June 29.

July 20.

1819. Sept. 4.

Potsdam Gazette, 1816-1820+.

Weekly. Established Jan. 13, 1816, by F[rederic] C. Powell, with the title of "Potsdam Gazette." Continued until after 1820. (See Munsell, "Typographical Miscellany," p. 13).

A. A. S. has:

1816. June 21.

1817. Aug. 8.

[Poughkeepsie] American Farmer, 1798-1800.

Weekly. Established June 8, 1798, by John Woods, with the title of "American Farmer, and Dutchess County Advertiser." Discontinued with the issue of July 22, 1800, vol. 3, no. 8.

N. J. Hist. Soc. has June 8, 1798-July 22, 1800. Adriance Lib., Poughkeepsie, has June 8, 1798. Harvard has Sept. 10, 1799. Lib. Congress has Jan. 28, Feb. 18, 1800. A. A. S. has:

1799. July 25.

Oct. 22, 29.

Dec. 17.

1800. Apr. 1, 22.

[Poughkeepsie] Country Journal, 1785-1789.

Weekly. Established Aug. 11, 1785, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Oct. 13, 1785, no. 10, published by Nicholas Power, with the title of "The Country Journal, and the Poughkeepsie Advertiser." At some time between Sept. 23 and Oct. 14, 1788, the title was altered to "The Country Journal, and Dutchess and Ulster County Farmer's Register." With the issue of either July 14 or 21, 1789, the title was changed to "The Poughkeepsie Journal," which see.

Adriance Lib., Poughkeepsie, has Oct. 13, 1785; Jan. 10-Oct. 24, Dec. 5-26, 1787; Dec. 9, 1788; Feb. 24-June 23, 1789. N. Y. Pub. Lib. has Aug. 12, 1788; July 7, 1789. N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Aug. 12, 1788. A. A. S. has:

1786. Nov. 1.
Dec. 6, 13, 27.
1787. Jan. 10, 17, 24, 31.
Feb. 7, 14, 21, 28.
Mar. 7, 14, 21, 28.
Apr. 11, 18.
May 9, 23.
June 13, 20, 27.
July 4, 11, 18.
Aug. 1, 8, 22.
Sept. 5, 12, 26.
Oct. 3, 10, 17.
Nov. 14.
Dec. 26.
Supplement: Mar. 21.
1788. Jan. 9, 22.
Feb. 19, 26.
Mar. 4, 18.
Apr. 8, 15.
May 6, 13.
June 3.
July 1, 15, 22, 29.
Aug. 5, 12, 19, 26.
Sept. 2, 16.
Oct. 14, 21, 28.
Nov. 25.
Dec. 2, 23.
Supplement: Jan. 22.
1789. Jan. 13, 27.
Feb. 10.
Mar. 3, 17^m.
Apr. 7, 28.
May 19.

[Poughkeepsie] Dutchess Observer, 1815-1820+.

Weekly. Established May 10, 1815, by Barnum & Nelson (Charles P. Barnum and Richard Nelson), with the title of "Dutchess Observer." With the issue of Jan. 8, 1817, the title was changed to "The Dutchess Observer," but with that of Mar. 17, 1819, reverted to its earlier form. With the issue of Nov. 17, 1819, the partnership was dissolved and the paper published by Charles P. Barnum. With the issue of May 17, 1820, Nicholas Jacacks was admitted to partnership and the paper published by Barnum & Jacacks. With the issue of Nov. 1, 1820, the title was again altered to "The Dutchess Observer." Continued until after 1820.

Adriance Lib., Poughkeepsie, has May 10, 1815-Dec. 27, 1820. Lib. Congress has Dec. 31, 1817; May 24, 1819-Apr. 5, 1820, fair. N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Mar. 25, 1818. A. A. S. has:

1816. July 24.

1818. June 17.

[Poughkeepsie] Farmer, 1806-1807.

Weekly. Established Apr. 15, 1806, by Thomas Wilson, with the title of "The Farmer." The last issue located is that of Feb. 10, 1807, vol. 1, no. 41. The paper was suspended in May, 1807, immediately after the State election (see "Republican Crisis," of Albany, June 19, 1807).

N. Y. Pub. Lib. has Apr. 15, 1806-Feb. 10, 1807. Adriance Lib., Poughkeepsie, has Apr. 22, Nov. 25, 1806. Harvard has May 13, 20, June 3, Aug. 12, 1806. A. A. S. has:

1806. Apr. 29.

May 13, 20.

June 10.

Aug. 5.

1807. Jan. 6.

Feb. 3.

[Poughkeepsie] Guardian, 1801-1802.

Weekly. Established Nov. 10, 1801, by Buel & Joyner (Jesse Buel and Nathaniel Joyner), with the title of "The Guardian." It was discontinued with the issue of June 1, 1802, vol. 1, no. 30, to be succeeded by the "Political Barometer," which see.

Harvard has Dec. 15, 22, 1801; Jan. 19-May 25, 1802. Lib. Congress has Mar. 30, May 4, 25, 1802. Adriance Lib., Poughkeepsie, has June 1, 1802.

Poughkeepsie Journal, 1789-1820+.

Weekly. A continuation, without change of volume numbering, of "The Country Journal," the first issue with the new title of "The Poughkeepsie Journal" being that of either July 14 or 21, 1789, published by Nicholas Power. At some time between Mar. 30 and May 25, 1796, the imprint became Nicholas Power and Company. A few weeks later, probably with the issue of Sept. 28, 1796, the paper was published by Nicholas Power and Richard Vanderburgh. With the issue of Nov. 9, 1796, the partnership was dissolved and the paper again published by Nicholas Power alone. With the issue of Mar. 27, 1798, Henry C. Southwick was admitted to partnership, and the paper was published by Power and Southwick. At some time between Nov. 11, 1800 and Mar. 30, 1802, Southwick retired and the paper was published by Nicholas Power. On May 25, 1802, Power took a partner into business, under the firm name of Nicholas Power and Co., and at this time the title was changed to "The Poughkeepsie Journal, and Constitutional Republican." Before the end of the year 1802, the initial "The" was omitted from the title. With the issue of Jan. 7, 1806, the paper was purchased and published by Bowman and Potter (Godfrey Bowman and Paraclete Potter). With the issue of Apr. 1, 1806, Chester Parsons was admitted to the firm, which became Bowman, Parsons & Potter. In August, 1809, the firm was dissolved and the paper published by Paraclete Potter. With the issue of May 24, 1815, the title was shortened to "Poughkeepsie

Journal." The paper was so continued until after 1820.

Adriance Lib., Poughkeepsie, has Aug. 11, Sept. 1 - Oct. 13, 27 - Nov. 10, 24, Dec. 8, 15, 1789; Nov. 24, 1791; Jan. 27, Nov. 16, 1796; Aug. 8, 1797; Feb. 14, Nov. 6, 1804; Mar. 12, 1805; Jan. 14, 1806 - Dec. 30, 1807; Apr. 6, 1808 - Feb. 1, 1809; Jan. 3, 1810 - Dec. 27, 1820. N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Dec. 22, 29, 1789; Jan. 12, 19, 1790; Aug. 16, 1803; July 19, 1815. Wis. Hist. Soc. has May 1 - Sept. 18, 1793; Feb. 26 - July 9, 1794; Nov. 27, 1798; Oct. 1, 1799. Harvard has Nov. 18, 1795; Apr. 12, Aug. 1, 1797; Mar. 30, 1802; Jan. 4, Oct. 11, 1803; Feb. 14, Apr. 10, Sept. 4, 25, Dec. 25, 1804; Jan. 1, 1805; Apr. 8, Oct. 14, 1806. Boston Pub. Lib., has Apr. 6, May 15, 1790. Yale has Jan. 13 - Feb. 3, 17, 24, 1796. Lib. Congress has May 20, 1812; Oct. 13, 1813; July 15, 1818 - Sept. 13, 1820, scattering issues. A. A. S. has:

- 1789. July 21, 28.
Aug. 4, 18, 25.
Sept. 1, 8, 15.
Oct. 6, 27.
Nov. 3, 10, 17, 24.
Dec. 1, 8, 15, 22.
- 1790. Jan. 19, 26.
Apr. 20, 27.
May 4, 11, 15, 29.
June 12, 19, 26.
July 3, 10, 17, 24, 31.
Aug. 7, 14.
Sept. 4, 11, 18, 25.
Oct. 2, 9, 16.
Nov. 6, 13, 20.
Dec. 18, 25.
- 1791. Jan. 1, 8^m.
Feb. 5, 19.
Mar. 5, 12, 19, 26.
Apr. 2, 9, 16, 30.
May 12^m, 26.
June 2, 16, 30.

- July 7, 14, 21.
Aug. 4, 11, 25.
Sept. 1, 8, 22, 29.
Nov. 3, 10, 17, 24.
Dec. 8, 15, 29.
1792. Jan. 5, 19.
Feb. 2^m, 16, 23.
Mar. 1, 8, 15, 29^m.
Apr. 5.
May 3^m, 17.
June 14.
July 5, 12, 19.
Aug. 1^m, 15.
Sept. 19, 26.
1793. Jan. 9.
Feb. 13, 27.
Mar. 6, 13, 27.
Apr. 10, 24.
May 1, 8.
Oct. 23.
1795. Nov. 18.
1796. Mar. 23^m.
May 25^m.
June 2^m, 15^m, 29.
July 13.
Oct. 12, 19, 26.
Nov. 2.
Dec. 21.
1797. Jan. 25.
Feb. 8, 15, 22.
Mar. 1, 22, 29.
Aug. 15.
1798. Mar. 6, 13.
May 8^m.
June 12^m.
Extraordinary: Mar. 6, Mar. 13.
1800. Oct. 28^m.
Nov. 4^m.

- 1802. July 6.
- 1803. Aug. 16.
Sept. 6, 27.
- 1804. Mar. 13, 20.
- 1806. Feb. 25.
June 3.
July 1.
Oct. 7.
Dec. 9.
- 1808. Feb. 17.
- 1810. Dec. 5.
- 1811. June 5.
- 1812. May 13.
June 17, 24.
July 1, 15.
Aug. 26.
Sept. 9, 23.
Nov. 18.
Dec. 2.
- 1813. Feb. 3.
Mar. 3, 10, 24.

[Poughkeepsie] New-York Journal, 1778-1782.

Weekly. A continuation, without change of volume numbering, of "The New-York Journal," suspended at Kingston in October, 1777. The first Poughkeepsie issue was that of May 11, 1778, no. 1772, published by John Holt, with the title of "The New-York Journal, and the General Advertiser." It was suspended from Nov. 6, 1780 to July 30, 1781, because of scarcity of paper and lack of financial support. After being resumed with the issue of July 30, 1781, it was suspended with the issue of Jan. 6, 1782, no. 1926, to allow Holt to print the State Laws. The paper was revived by Holt at New York, under the title of "The Independent New-York Gazette," Nov. 22, 1783.

N. Y. Pub. Lib. has May 11, 1778-Nov. 6, 1780; July 30, 1781-Jan. 6, 1782. N. Y. Hist. Soc. has May 11, 1778-Dec. 27, 1779; Jan. 31, Mar. 6, May 8, 22, 29, June

19, 26, Sept. 11, Oct. 30, 1780; July 30, Sept. 3, 10, 24, Oct. 1, 15, 22, Nov. 5-26, Dec. 10, 17, 1781. Lib. Congress has May 11, 18, June 8-29, July 20, Aug. 3-Sept. 14, 28, Oct. 12-Nov. 30, Dec. 14, 21, 1778; Jan. 11, 18, Feb. 8, Apr. 19, June 7, 14, July 5, 19, Aug. 16, Sept. 20, Oct. 11, 18, Dec. 13, 1779. Phil. Lib. Co. has June 1, July 13, Oct. 5, Dec. 7, 1778; Feb. 1, 22, Mar. 1, Apr. 19, July 12, Aug. 16, Sept. 6, 1779. Mass. Hist. Soc. has Aug. 31, Oct. 5, 12, Nov. 2, 23, 30, 1778; Feb. 15, Sept. 6, Oct. 4, 1779; Aug. 7, 1780; July 30, Sept. 24, Oct. 15, 29, Nov. 19, 1781. Adriance Lib., Poughkeepsie, has Oct. 19, 1778. Boston Pub. Lib. has Sept. 20, 1779. Albany Inst. has Sept. 3, 1781. A. A. S. has:

1778. July 20.
Aug. 10, 24^m, 31^m.
Oct. 19.
Nov. 30.
Dec. 21^m.

1779. Jan. 4.
Feb. 22^m.
Mar. 1^m.
Apr. 12^m.
May 10^m, 31.
June 7^m, 21.
July 5^m.
Aug. 9, 30.
Sept. 6, 13, 20.
Oct. 4, 11, 18^m.
Nov. 8.

1780. Feb. 14.
Mar. 27^m.
Apr. 17^m.
May 22^m.
June 19^m.
July 17.
Oct. 23^m.
Nov. 6.

1781. Aug. 6, 20.

Oct. 1, 29.

Nov. 5.

[Poughkeepsie] Northern Politician, 1812.

Weekly. Established Sept. 16, 1812, by Isaac Mitchell with the title of "Northern Politician." It succeeded the "Political Barometer," continuing the advertisements, but adopting a new volume numbering. The last issue located is that of Oct. 21, 1812, vol. 1, no. 6. Mitchell died Nov. 26, 1812, being referred to in the obituaries as "editor of the Northern Politician, late the Political Barometer."

Albany Inst. has Sept. 23, Oct. 21, 1812.

[Poughkeepsie] Political Barometer, 1802-1812.

Weekly. Established June 8, 1802, by Mitchell & Buel (Isaac Mitchell and Jesse Buel), with the title of "Political Barometer." It succeeded "The Guardian," but adopted a new volume numbering. With the issue of June 4, 1805, the partnership was dissolved, and Isaac Mitchell became sole publisher. With the issue of Sept. 2, 1806, the paper was purchased and published by Thomas Nelson & Son. With the issue of Apr. 13, 1808, the partnership was dissolved and Joseph Nelson, who had been the junior editor, became sole publisher. In September, 1810, the paper was transferred to Charles C. Adams & Co. In September, 1812, the paper was discontinued under this title, to be succeeded by the "Northern Politician."

Adriance Lib., Poughkeepsie, has June 8, 1802-Dec. 30, 1807; Aug. 9, 1809. Harvard has June 15, 1802-Sept. 28, 1808, scattering issues. N. Y. Hist. Soc. has June 4, 1805-May 27, 1807. Buffalo Hist. Soc. has May 20, 1807-May 24, 1809. N. J. Hist. Soc. has June 8-July 13, 1802. Lib. Congress has Oct. 26, 1802; May 16, 1810. Albany Inst. has Aug. 6-Dec. 24, 1805; Apr. 3, 17, 30, 1811. Boston Athenaeum has Jan. 21, 1806. Newburgh Lib. has Sept. 16, 1807; May 11, June 15, 1808. A. A. S. has:

- 1803. Aug. 16.
- 1804. Jan. 3.
- 1809. Aug. 9.
Nov. 1.
- 1810. Aug. 15.
- 1811. May 29.
June 5.

[Poughkeepsie] Republican Herald, 1811-1820+.

Weekly. Established Aug. 28, 1811, by C[harles] C. Adams and D[aniel] MacDuffee, with the title of "Republican Herald." At some time before July 1, 1812, MacDuffee retired and the paper was published by Charles C. Adams alone. Adams died and it was published for Mrs. Adams in April, 1814. In May, 1814, the paper was purchased and published by Rudd & Stockholm (Reuben B. Rudd and Derick B. Stockholm). With the issue of Mar. 22, 1815, Rudd was replaced by Thomas Brownejohn and the paper was published by Stockholm & Brownejohn. Continued until after 1820.

Adriance Lib., Poughkeepsie, has July 1, Aug. 26, 1812; June 9, 1813; June 1, 1814; Jan. 4, Mar. 1, Apr. 19, 1815; Mar. 19, 1817. Albany Inst. has July 8, 15, Sept. 9, 1812; Jan. 26, Mar. 23, 1814. Boston Pub. Lib. has Apr. 27, 1813. Mass. Hist. Soc. has Apr. 20, May 25, June 8, 22, 1814. N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Jan. 4, 11, Feb. 15, Mar. 1, Apr. 12, 26, Sept. 27, Oct. 25, Nov. 15, 29, 1815; May 1, 1816-Apr. 23, 1817. A. A. S. has:

- 1812. Aug. 19.
- 1813. Mar. 3.
Aug. 4, 18.
Sept. 22.
Oct. 6, 13, 20, 27.
Nov. 3, 10, 17.
Dec. 1, 29.
- 1814. Jan. 5, 19, 26.
Feb. 16, 23.
Mar. 9.
May 18.

July 6, 13.
 Aug. 17, 24.
 Sept. 7.
 Oct. 5, 19, 26.
 Nov. 2, 9.

1815. Mar. 8.
 May 3.

[Poughkeepsie] Republican Journal, 1795-1796.

Weekly. Established Sept. 30, 1795, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Oct. 21, 1795, vol. 1, no. 4, published by Nathan Douglas, with the title of "Republican Journal." On June 29, 1796, Douglas sold out and the paper was published by Richard Vanderburgh & Co. The last issue located is that of July 6, 1796, vol. 1, no. 41, and the paper was soon discontinued, as Vanderburgh entered the management of "The Poughkeepsie Journal" in September, 1796.

Phil. Lib. Co. has Oct. 21, Nov. 4, 11, 18, Dec. 2, 1795; June 8, 15, 22, 1796. Harvard has Nov. 18, Dec. 23, 1795; May 25, June 8, 22, 1796. N. Y. Pub. Lib. has June 1, 1796. Mrs. Frank VanKleeck, Poughkeepsie, has July 6, 1796. A. A. S. has:

1795. Nov. 4^m, 11^m, 25.
 Dec. 9, 30.
 Supplement: Dec. 16.

1796. Feb. 24^m.

Rochester Gazette, 1816-1820+.

Weekly. Established in June, 1816, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of June 9, 1818, vol. 2, no. 102, published by A. G. Dauby & Co., with the title of "Rochester Gazette." Frederick Follett, in his "Press of Western New-York," 1847, p. 46, states that the paper was started by Augustine G. Dauby, that John Sheldon was associated with him for ten months immediately prior to removing to Detroit, and that Oran Follett succeeded Sheldon and remained with Dauby for a short time. John P. Sheldon established the

"Detroit Gazette," July 25, 1817, and Oran Follett established the "Spirit of the Times" at Batavia, Feb. 3, 1819. In a list of New York newspapers of Jan. 1, (printed in the "Albany Argus" of Jan. 6, 1818), the "Rochester Gazette" is recorded as published by A. G. Dauby & Co. The issue of May 18, 1819 was published by A. G. Dauby. On Dec. 5, 1819, a fire entirely destroyed the printing-office, and it was April, 1820, before Dauby was able to resume business. The issues in 1820 were published by Augustine G. Dauby.

Boston Athenaeum has June 9, 1818. Reynolds Lib., Rochester, has May 30-Dec. 26, 1820. Chicago Hist. Soc. has June 6, 1820. A. A. S. has:

1819. May 18.

Rochester Telegraph, 1818-1820+.

Weekly. Established July 7, 1818, by E[verard] Peck, & Co., with the title of "Rochester Telegraph." So continued until after 1820.

N. Y. Hist. Soc. and Reynolds Lib., Rochester, have July 7, 1818-Dec. 26, 1820. Hist. Soc. Penn. has July 7, 1818-July 6, 1819. Wis. Hist. Soc. has Jan. 4, Nov. 14, 1820. Chicago Hist. Soc. has Nov. 21, 1820. A. A. S. has:

1818. Sept. 22.

1819. July 13, 20, 27.

[Rome] Columbian Patriotic Gazette, 1799-1803.

Weekly. Established Aug. 8, 1799, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Sept. 26, 1799, vol. 1, no. 8, published by Ebenezer Eaton & Thomas Walker, with the title of "Columbian Patriotic Gazette." The word "Patriotic" is in different type, so that the paper might possibly be called "Columbian Gazette." With the issue of Aug. 4, 1800, the paper was printed by Thomas Walker, for Eaton & Walker. With the issue of Aug. 3, 1801, the firm of Ebenezer Eaton and Thomas Walker dissolved partnership, and the paper was published by Thomas Walker. The last issue located is that

of Sept. 6, 1802, vol. 4, no. 162, and in March, 1803, Walker removed the paper to Utica, where he established it as the "Columbian Gazette."

Harvard has Sept. 26, 1799; Aug. 25, 1800; Jan. 5-Feb. 2, Mar. 2, Apr. 13, 27, July 13, 1801; Feb. 1, 1802. Oneida Hist. Soc., Utica, has Aug. 4, 1800 Extra; Feb. 15, Mar. 8, 1802. Boston Athenaeum has Nov. 17, 1800. Lib. Congress has Apr. 27, 1801. Long Id. Hist. Soc. has July 28, 1800; July 27, 1801. A. A. S. has:

- 1800. Feb. 24.
Apr. 21.
Aug. 11.
Oct. 20.
Nov. 17.
- 1801. Apr. 13.
Aug. 17, 24.
- 1802. Sept. 6^m.

[Rome] Oneida Observer, 1818-1819.

Weekly. Removed from Utica, where it was called "The Utica Observer," and established at Rome as the "Oneida Observer" toward the close of the year 1818; it was returned to Utica in 1819 (Munsell, "Typographical Miscellany," p. 138, and French, "Gazetteer of New York," 1860, p. 459). No copy located.

Sacket's Harbor Gazette, 1817-1820+.

Weekly. Established Mar. 17, 1817, by George Camp, with the title of "Sacket's Harbor Gazette" (F. B. Hough, "History of Jefferson County," 1854, p. 377). Early in 1818, the title was changed to "Sacket's-Harbor Gazette & Advertiser." In February, 1820, Mathew M. Cole became the publisher and the title was changed to "The Sacket's Harbor Gazette." The paper was continued until after 1820.

Yale has Oct. 27, 1820. A. A. S. has:

- 1818. June 9, 23.

[Sag Harbor] American Eagle, 1817-1820+.

Weekly. Established Oct. 18, 1817, by Samuel A. Seabury, with the title of "American Eagle," later changed to "American Eagle and Suffolk County General Advertiser." Continued until after 1820.

Jermain Lib., Sag Harbor, has May 8, 22, June 12, July 17, 24, Sept. 4, 11, 1819; July 8, 1820. Ivan Byram, Sag Harbor, has Feb. 13, 27, Mar. 27, Apr. 3, 1819. Long Id. Hist. Soc. has Jan. 10, 1818.

[Sag Harbor] Frothingham's Long-Island Herald, 1791-1798.

Weekly. Established May 10, 1791, by David Frothingham, with the title of "Frothingham's Long-Island Herald." The last issue located is that of Dec. 17, 1798, vol. 7, no. 317.

Ivan Byram, Sag Harbor, has May 10, June 14, 21, Aug. 9, 23, 30, Sept. 13, 27, Oct. 4, Nov. 1, 22, Dec. 20, 1791; Jan. 5, Feb. 9, 16, Mar. 29, Apr. 12, 19, May 3, 1792. Long. Id. Hist. Soc. has June 7, 1791; July 11, 1793; Aug. 17, 1796; Feb. 1, Mar. 15-Dec. 18, 1797, fair; Jan. 16, Mar 19-Dec. 17, 1798, fair. Charles J. Werner, Huntington, N. Y., has Dec. 23, 1794; Apr. 13, May 11, 25, June 8, July 6, Dec. 14, 1795; Sept. 21, Oct. 26, 1796; Jan. 25, Feb. 8, 28, May 3, 31, July 19, 26, Aug. 9, Sept. 27, Dec. 18, 1797. N. Y. Hist. Soc. has June 28, Sept. 6, 13, Oct. 4, 11, 25, Nov. 1, 22, Dec. 13-27, 1791; Jan. 5, Feb. 9, Nov. 29-Dec. 20, 1792; Jan. 11, 1796. Jermain Lib., Sag Harbor, has Dec. 6, 1792. Harvard has Mar. 12, 1798. A. A. S. has:

1791. July 26.

Sept. 13, 27.

Oct. 4.

1792. Apr. 12.

July 12.

[Sag Harbor] Suffolk County Herald, 1802-1803.

Weekly. Established June 19, 1802, by Selleek Osborn, with the title of "Suffolk County Herald." The last issue located is that of Jan. 3, 1803, vol. 1, no. 29.

Long. Id. Hist. Soc. has June 19-Aug. 7, 21-Sept. 11, Oct. 4, 11, Dec. 13, 1802; Jan. 3, 1803. Harvard has Nov. 29, 1802. Ivan Byram, Sag Harbor, has Sept. 4, 1802. A. A. S. has:

1802. Nov. 29.

[Sag Harbor] Suffolk County Recorder, 1816-1817.

Weekly. Established Oct. 19, 1816, by Samuel A. Seabury, with the title of "Suffolk County Recorder." Discontinued with the issue of Oct. 11, 1817, vol. 1, no. 52, to be succeeded by the "American Eagle."

Ivan Byram, Sag Harbor, has Oct. 19, 1816-Oct. 11, 1817. Jermain Lib., Sag Harbor, has Oct. 26, 1816-Oct. 11, 1817, fair file. A. A. S. has:

1816. Oct. 19, 26.

Nov. 2, 9, 23.

[Sag Harbor] Suffolk Gazette, 1804-1811.

Weekly. Established Feb. 20, 1804, by Alden Spooner, with the title of "Suffolk Gazette." With the issue of Sept. 1, 1810, Spooner relinquished his control of the paper to a company, although continuing as printer, and the paper was printed by Alden Spooner, for the Proprietors. It was discontinued with the issue of Feb. 23, 1811, vol. 6, no. 364.

Jermain Lib., Sag Harbor, has Feb. 20, 1804-Feb. 23, 1811. Harvard has Feb. 20, 1804-Apr. 14, 1806, fair. Long Id. Hist. Soc. has Sept. 8, 29, 1806; Jan. 21, Feb. 25, Mar. 4, 18, Apr. 1, 29, May 6, 20, 27, June 17, 1809; Feb. 2, 1811. Albany Inst. has Jan. 14, Apr. 15, 1809.

A. A. S. has:

1804. Feb. 20.

Mar. 5.

Aug. 20.

Sept. 17, 24.

Oct. 1, 15, 29.

Nov. 5, 12, 19.

Dec. 3, 17, 24, 31.

1805. Jan. 7, 28.
Feb. 25.
Mar. 4, 18, 25.
Apr. 8, 22.
May 20, 27.
June 3, 10.
July 1, 15, 29^m.
Sept. 23, 30.
Oct. 7, 14.
Nov. 25.
Dec. 2, 9.
1806. Jan. 6.
Feb. 17.
Mar. 10.
Apr. 7, 21.
May 5, 26.
June 16, 23, 30.
July 7, 14, 28^m.
Aug. 11^m.
Oct. 20, 27.
Nov. 3, 10, 24.
Dec. 8, 22, 29.
1807. Jan. 5, 12, 19, 26.
Feb. 2, 9, 23.
Mar. 2, 16.
Apr. 6, 20, 27.
May 18, 25.
June 1, 15, 22, 29.
July 6, 20.
Aug. 3, 24, 31.
Sept. 7, 14, 21, 28.
Dec. 7, 14, 28.
1808. Jan. 4, 11, 18.
July 2, 23, 30.
Sept. 10, 17.
Oct. 1, 22.
Dec. 3.



1809. Jan. 14^m, 21, 28.
 Feb. 4, 11, 18^m, 25.
 Mar. 4, 18.
 Apr. 15, 22.
 May 6, 13, 20.
 June 17.
 July 29.
 Sept. 9.
 Nov. 25.
 Dec. 2, 16, 23, 30.
1810. Jan. 13, 20.
 Feb. 3, 10, 17, 24.
 Mar. 3, 10, 17, 24, 31.
 Apr. 7, 14.
 May 5, 19.
 June 9.
 July 7, 21, 28.
 Aug. 25.
 Sept. 1, 8, 22, 29.
 Oct. 6, 20, 27.
 Nov. 17.
 Dec. 1, 8, 22, 29.
1811. Jan. 5, 12, 19, 26.
 Feb. 2, 9, 23.

[Salem] *Northern Centinel*, 1798-1800.

Weekly. Established Jan. 1, 1798, by Henry Dodd, with the title of "*Northern Centinel*." The last issue located is that of Jan. 7, 1800, vol. 3, no. 106.

N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Aug. 13, 1798. N. Y. Pub. Lib. has Nov. 27, 1798. Harvard has Jan. 7, 1800. A. A. S. has:

1798. Jan. 1 to Dec. 25.
 Mutilated: Jan. 1.

[Salem] *Northern Post*, 1804-1820+.

Weekly. Established May 24, 1804, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Aug. 2, 1804, vol. 1, no. 11, published by Henry Dodd and David Rumsey, Jun., with the title of "*The Northern Post*."

At some time after 1810, Rumsey dropped the "Jun.", following his name. With the issue of May 19, 1814, the firm was dissolved and the paper published by H. Dodd & Co. (see issue of Dec. 22, 1814). With the issue of June 9, 1814, a new partnership was formed between Henry Dodd, David Rumsey, and James Stevenson, Jun., under the firm name of Dodd, Rumsey & Stevenson. With the issue of Dec. 29, 1814, Rumsey withdrew and the paper was published by Dodd & Stevenson, and was so continued until after 1820.

Harvard has Aug. 2, 23, 1804. N. Y. Pub. Lib. has Mar. 27, 1806. N. Y. State Lib. has Feb. 5, 1807. N. Y. Hist. Soc. has May 16, 1816-May 7, 1818. Bancroft Lib., Salem, has May 14, 1818-May 11, 1820. A. A. S. has:

- 1809. Nov. 30.
- 1810. Apr. 12, 26.
May 24.
June 7, 28.
Dec. 27.
- 1814. May 19 to Dec. 29.
- 1815. Jan. 5 to Dec. 28.
Supplement: Apr. 20.
- 1816. Jan. 4 to Dec. 26.
Mutilated: July 18.
- 1817. Jan. 2 to Dec. 25.
Mutilated: July 17.
- 1818. Jan. 1 to Apr. 16.

[Salem] Times, 1794-1795.

Weekly. Established June 18, 1794, by George Gerrish, with the title of "The Times; or, National Courier." Discontinued within a year.

N. Y. Pub. Lib. has June 18, 26, 1794.

[Salem] Washington Patrol, 1795.

Weekly. Established May 27, 1795, by Wm. W. Wands & S. J. [St. John] Honeywood, with the title of "Washington Patrol." The last issue located is that of Oct. 28, 1795, vol. 1, no. 23.

Harvard has May 27, June 3, 17, July 15, Sept. 16, 1795. N. Y. Pub. Lib. has May 27, 1795. Lib. Congress has Aug. 19-Oct. 28, 1795. A. A. S. has:

1795. June 3.

July 8, 29.

[Salem] Washington Register, 1803-1820+.

Weekly. Established in November, 1803, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Nov. 13, 1806, vol. 4, no. 157, published by J[ohn] P. Reynolds, with the title of "Washington Register." Reynolds was publisher certainly as late as June 21, 1810. In the Schenectady "Cabinet," of Jan. 13, 1813, is printed a notice of the death, at Cincinnati, Dec. 17, 1812, of John M. Looker, "printer, formerly editor of the Washington Register, published at Salem." In "The Salem Book," 1896, p. 119, it is stated that the paper was established in October, 1803, by John M. Looker, who in two years sold out to John P. Reynolds, who in December, 1815, transferred it to Timothy Hoskins, who on Dec. 24, 1818, sold out to James B. Gibson, who continued the paper until after 1820. The name of the "Washington Register" is recorded in a list of New York newspapers of December, 1815 ("Albany Argus," Dec. 26, 1815), and of January, 1818 ("Albany Argus," Jan. 6, 1818), in which latter list it was published by T. Hoskins.

Lib. Congress has Apr. 7, 1808. A. A. S. has:

1806. Nov. 13.

1810. June 14, 21.

[Sangerfield] Civil & Religious Intelligencer, 1816-1820+.

Weekly. Established Nov. 18, 1816, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Dec. 16, 1816, vol. 1, no. 5, published by Joseph Tenny, with the title of "Civil & Religious Intelligencer." It was of octavo size, 4 pages to the issue, and although a magazine in appearance, contained current and local news and death and marriage notices. Included also as part of each issue was "The Christian's Weekly Monitor," separately

paged, and with a volume numbering which continued a magazine of that name begun by Tenny two years previous. In August, 1817, the title was changed to "Civil & Religious Intelligencer, or the Gleaner & Monitor." It was continued until after 1820, although no issues have been located in 1818-1820.

A. A. S. has:

1816. Dec. 16.

1817. Jan. 27.

June 7.

July 19.

Aug. 23, 30.

Sept. 13.

Saratoga Gazette, 1810.

The "Saratoga Gazette" published at Saratoga, is recorded by Isaiah Thomas, in his list of newspapers published at the beginning of 1810 (*History of Printing*, ed. 1874, vol. 2, p. 298), but the name of the editor is not given and Thomas evidently was unable to obtain a copy of the paper.

[Saratoga Springs] Saratoga Sentinel, 1819-1820+.

Weekly. Established May 26, 1819, by Gideon M. Davison, with the title of "Saratoga Sentinel," and so continued until after 1820.

Boston Athenaeum has Sept. 1, 1819. A. A. S. has:

1819. June 9.

Aug. 11, 25.

Sept. 29.

1820. Apr. 19.

[Schenectady] Cabinet, 1810-1820+.

Weekly. Established May 26, 1810, by I[saac] Riggs, with the title of "The Cabinet." It succeeded the "Western Budget," continuing its advertisements, but adopting a new volume numbering. With the issue of July 6, 1814, Isaac Stevens was admitted to partnership and the paper was published by Riggs & Stevens. At some time between 1815 and 1817, the partnership was

dissolved, and I. Riggs again became sole publisher. The paper was so continued until after 1820.

Albany Inst. has Apr. 17, 1811. Buffalo Hist. Soc. has May 13, 1812. N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Oct. 28, 1812. W. T. Hanson, Schenectady, has June 2, 1819. A. A. S. has:

- 1810. July 24.
Oct. 16.
- 1812. Sept. 30.
Oct. 7, 14, 28.
Nov. 4, 11.
Dec. 23.
- 1813. Jan. 6, 13, 27.
Mar. 3, 10, 24, 31.
June 23^m, 30.
Aug. 18.
Oct. 6.
Dec. 1, 29.
- 1814. Feb. 16.
Mar. 2^m.
Apr. 27.
May 4, 11.
June 29.
Aug. 10.
Sept. 7, 14, 28.
Nov. 2, 9, 16.
- 1815. Jan. 18.
Apr. 5.
- 1818. July 22.

Schenectady Gazette, 1799-1802.

Weekly. Established in January, 1799, by John L. Stevenson, with the title of "Schenectady Gazette." The last issue located is that of Feb. 10, 1801, vol. 3, no. 109, and the paper was probably suspended late in 1802. Harvard has Dec. 31, 1799. N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Oct. 7, 1800. Lib. Congress has Feb. 10, 1801.

Schenectady Gazette, 1812.

Weekly. Established July 9, 1812, by Ryer Schermerhorn, with the title of "Schenectady Gazette." The last issue located is that of July 16, 1812, vol. 1, no. 2.

A. A. S. has:

1812. July 9, 16.

[Schenectady] Mohawk Advertiser, 1807-1811.

Weekly. Established July 31, 1807, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Aug. 7, 1807, vol. 1, no. 2, published by Ryer Schermerhorn, with the title of "Mohawk Advertiser." In October, 1810, Schermerhorn disposed of the paper, which was then printed by T[—] Johnson, for William S. Buell, editor and proprietor. The last issue located is that of May 7, 1811, vol. 4, no. 31.

Harvard has Oct. 2, 1807; Oct. 23, Nov. 6, 1810. N. Y. Soc. Lib. has Dec. 11, 1807. Utica Pub. Lib. has Sept. 19, 26, 1809. N. Y. State Lib. has Sept. 4, 1810. W. T. Hanson, Schenectady, has Jan. 22, 1808. A. A. S. has:

1807. Aug. 7, 28.

Sept. 11.

1808. Oct. 18.

1810. Apr. 10.

June 19.

July 3^m.

Aug. 14.

Oct. 23.

Nov. 6, 13, 20.

1811. Feb. 19, 26.

Mar. 5, 19.

Apr. 9.

May 7.

[Schenectady] Mohawk Mercury, 1794-1798.

Weekly. Established Dec. 15, 1794, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Feb. 9, 1795, no. 9, published by Wyckoff & Brokaw (Cornelius P.

Wyckoff and Abraham Brokaw), with the title of "The Mohawk Mercury." With the issue of Sept. 8, 1795, the partnership was dissolved, and the paper was published by Cornelius P. Wyckoff. The last issue located is that of Mar. 13, 1798, no. 170, in which issue the publisher announced his removal from the town during the following month.

Harvard has Feb. 9, 24, May 19, 26, June 9, 16, 30, Sept. 8, Dec. 22, 1795; Mar. 1, 22, Apr. 12-May 24, June 21, July 12-26, Sept. 13, 20, Oct. 4, 11, Nov. 22, Dec. 13-27, 1796; Jan. 3-24, Feb. 7, 14, Mar. 21, 28, Apr. 4, 18, 25, 1797; Jan. 2, 1798. N. Y. Pub. Lib. has Feb. 24, 1795. Wis. Hist. Soc. has Mar. 24, Aug. 18, 1795. A. A. S. has:

- 1795. Feb. 9, 24.
Mar. 31.
Apr. 14, 21.
June 16, 30.
July 7, 28.
Aug. 11, 18.
Sept. 1, 22.
Nov. 10^m, 17.
- 1796. May 17, 24.
June 14, 21.
July 12.
Sept. 20, 27^m.
Oct. 4, 11, 25.
- 1797. Jan. 3^m, 24, 31.
Feb. 7, 14, 21.
Mar. 28.
Apr. 4, 11, 25.
May 2, 9, 23, 30.
June 6.
July 25.
Aug. 1, 8, 22^m, 29.
Sept. 5, 12, 26.
Oct. 3, 10, 24.
Nov. 7, 21, 28.
Dec. 5, 19^m, 26.

1798. Jan. 16, 23, 30.
Feb. 13, 20, 27.
Mar. 6, 13.

[Schenectady] *Western Budget*, 1807-1810.

Weekly. Established July 4, 1807, by D[erick] & C[ornelius] VanVeghten, with the title of "*Western Budget*." With the issue of Aug. 1, 1807, the name of the publishing firm was changed to VanVeghten & Son. In December, 1808, the firm was dissolved, Hermon Van Veghten stating that he was authorized to collect the firm's debts, and I[saac] Riggs became the publisher. The paper was discontinued under this title with the issue of May 19, 1810, vol. 3, no. 156, and was succeeded by "*The Cabinet*."

A. A. S. has:

1807. July 25.
Aug. 1, 8.
1809. Jan. 10, 24, 31.
Feb. 28.
Mar. 14, 21, 28.
Oct. 3.
1810. Jan. 23, 30.
Feb. 6, 20.
Apr. 24.
May 1, 8.

[Schenectady] *Western Spectator*, 1802-1807.

Weekly. Established in December, 1802, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Apr. 21, 1803, vol. 1, no. 18, published by John L. Stevenson, with the title of "*The Western Spectator; or, Schenectady Weekly Advertiser*." The last issue located is that of Nov. 15, 1805, vol. 3, no. 152. The title appears in a list of papers published at the end of 1806 (Munsell, "*Typographical Miscellany*," p. 105), and it was evidently succeeded in July, 1807, by the "*Western Budget*."

Schenectady Hist. Soc. has Apr. 21, 1803. Harvard has Nov. 8, 15, 1805.

[Schoharie] American Herald, 1809-1810.

Weekly. Established in June, 1809, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Dec. 23, 1809, vol. 1, no. 30, published by John C. G. Groesbeek, with the title of "American Herald." Early in 1810 the paper was transferred to Derick VanVeghten and the title slightly altered to "The American Herald." The last issue located is that of July 7, 1810, vol. 1, no. 58. W. E. Roscoe, in his "History of Schoharie County," 1882, p. 79, states that the title was changed to "Schoharie Herald" in 1812, soon after which it was discontinued.

A. A. S. has:

1809. Dec. 23.

1810. July 7.

Schoharie Budget, 1817-1819.

Weekly. Established in June, 1817, by Derick VanVeghten (Munsell, "Typographical Miscellany," p. 128). It is recorded in a list of New York newspapers of January, 1818 (see "Albany Argus" of Jan. 6, 1818) where VanVeghten is given as the publisher. It was succeeded in 1819 by the "Schoharie Republican" (Roscoe, "History of Schoharie County," p. 80). No copy located.

Schoharie Gazette, 1815.

A paper with the title of "Schoharie Gazette" is recorded in a list of New York newspapers of December, 1815, printed in the "Albany Argus" of Dec. 26, 1815. No copy located.

[Schoharie] Observer, 1818-1820+.

Weekly. Established Oct. 28, 1818, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of May 12, 1819, vol. 1, no. 29, published by M[atthew] M. Cole, with the title of "The Observer." The only other issues located are those of Apr. 11, 1820, vol. 2, no. 25, published by Solomon Baker, with the title of "Schoharie Observer," and Nov. 14, 1820, published by Baker & Fish (Solomon Baker and — Fish), with the title of "The Schoharie Observer."

N. Y. Hist. Soc. has May 12, 1819; Apr. 11, Nov. 14, 1820. The N. Y. State Library owned a file, 1818-1823, which was destroyed in the Capitol fire of 1911.

Schoharie Republican, 1819-1820+.

Weekly. Established in 1819 by Derick VanVeghten (Roscoe, "History of Schoharie County," p. 80), and continued until after 1820. No copy located.

The N. Y. State Library owned a file, 1819-1824, which was destroyed in the Capitol fire of 1911.

[Schoharie] True American, 1809-1810.

Weekly. Established Dec. 9, 1809, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Jan. 20, 1810, vol. 1, no. 7, published by Thomas M. Tillman, with the title of "The True American." The last issue located is that of July 14, 1810, vol. 1, no. 32.

A. A. S. has:

1810. Jan. 20.

May 12, 19.

July 14.

[Scipio] Levana Gazette, 1798.

Weekly. Established June 20, 1798, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Dec. 5, 1798, vol. 1, no. 25, published by R[oger] Delano, with the title of "Levana Gazette: or, Onondaga Advertiser." The imprint gives "Scipio, Onondaga County" as the place of publication, although the name of Levana, a small village, is given at the heading of the local news. An issue of Nov. 21, 1798, vol. 1, no. 23, is noted in Storke's "History of Cayuga County," p. 415, and in Follett's "Press of Western New York," p. 66, is noted a copy of the third number.

N. Y. Pub. Lib. has Dec. 5, 1798.

[Scipio] Western Luminary, 1801.

Weekly. Established Mar. 31, 1801, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Apr. 7, 1801, vol. 1, no. 2, printed by Ebenezer Eaton, for Eaton, & Co.,

with the title of "Western Luminary." The imprint states that it was "Printed in Scipio, at Watkins's Settlement, Cayuga County." The only other issue known is that of Apr. 21, 1801, vol. 1, no. 4.

Lib. Congress has Apr. 7, 1801. A. A. S. has:
1801. Apr. 21.

[Sherburne] *Morning Star*, 1810.

Weekly. In the prospectus of the "Republican Messenger" of May 22, 1810, it is stated that the junior editor, James Percival, "has recently been employed in printing a Federal newspaper entitled 'The Morning-Star,' in this village; but . . . has thought proper to embark in an undertaking which promises fairer results." The advertisements of "The Morning Star" were evidently continued in the "Republican Messenger," and judging from the dates of these advertisements, the former paper was established Mar. 27, and discontinued May 8, 1810. No copy located.

[Sherburne] *Olive Branch*, 1806-1808.

Weekly. Established May 21, 1806, by Phinney & Fairchild (Elihu Phinney and John F. Fairchild), with the title of "Olive-Branch." With the issue of June 11, 1806, the title was altered to "Olive Branch." With the issue of May 20, 1807, John F. Fairchild became sole publisher, changed with the issue of Jan. 9, 1808, to John F. Fairchild & Co. The last issue at Sherburne was that of Feb. 6, 1808, vol. 2, no. 90, after which the paper was removed to Norwich, without change of title or volume numbering. See under Norwich.

N. Y. St. Lib. has May 21, 1806-Feb. 6, 1808. Harvard has June 18, July 2, 9, 23, 1806.

[Sherburne] *Republican Messenger*, 1810.

Weekly. Established May 22, 1810, by Pettit & Percival (Jonathan Pettit and James Percival), with the title of "Republican Messenger." The paper succeeded "The Morning Star" and continued its advertisements. The last issue located is that of Nov. 6, 1810, vol. 1, no. 25.

Harvard has Oct. 2, Nov. 6, 1810. A. A. S. has:

1810. May 22.

June 5, 12, 19, 26.

July 3, 10, 17, 24.

Aug. 7.

[Sherburne] *Western Oracle*, 1803-1806.

Weekly. Established at Sherburne Four Corners in 1803 by Abraham Romeyn, with the title of "*Western Oracle*," and discontinued probably in 1806 (J. H. Smith, "*History of Chenango and Madison Counties*," p. 107).

Chas. C. Merrill has Mar. 30, 1805.

Sing-Sing, see under *Mount Pleasant*.

Somers Museum, 1809-1810.

Weekly. Established Nov. 8, 1809, by Milton F. Cushing, with the title of "*Somers Museum*." The last issue located is that of July 24, 1810, vol. 1, no. 36, which issue is entitled "*Somers Museum. And Westchester County Advertiser*."

A. A. S. has:

1809. Nov. 8.

Dec. 20^m.

1810. July 24.

Stillwater, see under *Upton*.

Tioga, see under *Owego—American Farmer*.

[Troy] *Farmer's Oracle*, 1797-1798.

Weekly. Established Jan. 31, 1797, by Luther Pratt, & Co. (Luther Pratt and Daniel Curtiss, Jun.), with the title of "*Farmer's Oracle*." It was removed from Lansingburgh to Troy, where it was started with a new volume numbering. With the issue of Apr. 11, 1797, the firm was dissolved and Luther Pratt became sole publisher. The last issue located is that of Apr. 10, 1798, vol. 2, no. 11.

Harvard has June 27, Sept. 5, 12, Oct. 10, 31, Nov. 28, Dec. 5, 19, 1797; Jan. 16, Feb. 13-Mar. 13, Apr. 3, 1798.

N. Y. Pub. Lib. has Dec. 5, 1797. Troy Pub. Lib. has Apr. 10, 1798. A. A. S. has:

1797. Feb. 28.
Mar. 14, 21.
Apr. 11, 25.
May 2^m, 9.
June 27.
Aug. 22.
Oct. 10, 31.
Nov. 21^m.

[Troy] *Farmers' Register*, 1807-1820+.

Weekly. Removed from Lansingburgh and established at Troy without change of title or volume numbering. The first issue at Troy was that of Nov. 24, 1807, vol. 5, no. 44, published by Francis Adancourt, with the title of "Farmers' Register." It was so continued until after 1820.

Albany Inst. has July 12, 1808; Feb. 14, Nov. 21, Dec. 5, 1809; Apr. 2, 9, 23, 1811; Mar. 24, July 14, Aug. 18, Oct. 6-Nov. 10, 1812; Jan. 3, 1815. N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Oct. 25, Nov. 15, 1808. A. A. S. has:

1807. Dec. 22, 29.

1808. Jan. 5 to Dec. 27.

Mutilated: Mar. 1, Apr. 12, Sept. 6.

Missing: Jan. 5, 26, Feb. 9, 23, Mar. 22, 29, Apr. 26, May 3, 10, 17, 24, 31, June 14, 21, 28, July 5, 19, Aug. 2, 9, 16, Sept. 20, Oct. 4, Nov. 1, 29, Dec. 13.

1809. Jan. 3 to Dec. 26.

Missing: Jan. 17, Feb. 14, Mar. 21, Apr. 4, 18, May 9, 16, June 6, 13, July 4, 11, 18, Aug. 1, 15, 22, Oct. 17, 24, Nov. 7, 14, 28, Dec. 19.

1810. Jan. 2 to Dec. 25.

Mutilated: Feb. 20.

Missing: Feb. 6, 13, Mar. 6, 13, 20, 27, May 15, 29, June 5, 12, July 17, 24, Aug. 7, 14, Sept. 25, Oct. 23, Nov. 20, Dec. 4, 25.

1811. Jan. 1 to Dec. 31.
Missing: Mar. 19, 26, Apr. 2, 16, May 28,
June 18, 25, July 2, 9, 16, Aug. 6, 13,
Sept. 3, 10, 17, Oct. 8, 22, Nov. 12, 19, 26,
Dec. 10, 17, 24, 31.
1812. Jan. 21.
Feb. 18.
Mar. 10.
Apr. 7, 14.
May 5.
June 9^m, 23.
Aug. 25.
Sept. 1.
Oct. 13, 27^m.
Dec. 15.
1813. July 20.
Aug. 31.
Sept. 14, 21.
Dec. 21.
1814. Jan. 18, 25.
Feb. 1, 8.
Mar. 1, 10, 17.
July 26^m.
Aug. 9.
Sept. 27.
Oct. 4.
Nov. 15, 29.
Dec. 13.
1815. Jan. 3.
Mar. 21, 28.
Apr. 4, 11, 18.
July 4, 11.
Sept. 26.
Dec. 26.
1816. Jan. 23.
Feb. 6, 13, 20.
Mar. 5.
Apr. 2, 9.

June 25.

July 23, 30.

Aug. 6.

Troy Gazette, 1802-1812.

Weekly. Established Sept. 15, 1802, by Thomas Collier, with the title of "The Troy Gazette." With the issue of Sept. 4, 1804, the title was altered to "Troy Gazette," and the paper was transferred to Wright & Willbur (John C. Wright and Solomon Willbur, Jun., changed to Wilbur with the issue of Sept. 18, 1804). With the issue of Dec. 25, 1804, Henry Stockwell was admitted to the firm, which became Wright, Wilbur & Stockwell. With the issue of Sept. 10, 1805, Sterling Goodenow replaced Wilbur in the firm, which became Wright, Goodenow, & Stockwell. With the issue of Dec. 1, 1807, the paper was printed by John R. Weld, for Wright, Goodenow, & Stockwell, but with that of July 12, 1808, Weld's name was omitted, and the paper was published by Wright, Goodenow, & Stockwell. With the issue of Dec. 20, 1808, the partnership was dissolved and the paper was published for the proprietors by John C. Wright. With the issue of Dec. 5, 1809, the title was changed to "Troy Gazette, and Rensselaer Philanthropist," and the paper was purchased and published by Eldad Lewis. In October, 1810, the title was shortened to "Troy Gazette," Ryer Schermerhorn was admitted to partnership, and the firm name became Lewis and Schermerhorn. At the end of the year 1810, Ryer Schermerhorn became sole publisher. The last issue located is that of Mar. 17, 1812, vol. 8, no. 394, in which issue Schermerhorn announced that the paper was for sale, as he was intending to remove from Troy. He established the "Schenectady Gazette," July 9, 1812.

Troy Pub. Lib. has Sept. 15, 1802-July 17, 1804; Sept. 4, 1804-May 29, 1810. Harvard has Sept. 22, 1802-Dec. 27, 1808, scattering issues. N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Sept. 3, 1805-July 21, 1807. Boston Athenaeum has Dec. 3, 10, 17, 31, 1805; Jan. 14, 28, Feb. 4, 1806. Lib.

Congress has Mar. 17, May 26, 1807. A. A. S. has:

- 1802. Oct. 20^m.
- 1803. Apr. 12.
Aug. 16, 23.
Sept. 6.
- 1804. Mar. 27.
- 1807. Mar. 3.
July 7.
Aug. 4.
- 1808. May 31.
Dec. 27.
- 1809. Jan. 3, 10, 17, 24.
Feb. 7, 14^m.
Nov. 7.
Dec. 5.
- 1810. May 1, 22, 29.
June 12, 19.
July 3, 10, 17, 24, 31.
Aug. 7.
Sept. 18.
Oct. 23, 30.
- 1811. Feb. 26^m.
Mar. 5, 26.
Nov. 19.
- 1812. Mar. 17.

[Troy] Northern Budget, 1798-1820+.

Weekly. Removed from Lansingburgh and established at Troy without change of title or volume numbering. The first issue at Troy was that of May 15, 1798, vol. 1, no. 48, published by Robert Moffitt & Co. (Robert Moffitt and Jesse Buel), with the title of "Northern Budget." With the issue of July 7, 1801, this firm was dissolved, Buel retired in favor of Zebulon Lyon, and the paper was issued by Moffitt & Lyon. Moffitt died May 4, 1807, and with the issue of May 12, 1807, Oliver Lyon became the publisher. The printing-office was destroyed

by fire on Mar. , 1810, and no papers were issued until June 19, 1810. At some time between Nov. 22, 1814, and Feb. 28, 1815, Lyon was replaced as publisher by Ebenezer Hill. With the issue of either Aug. 26, or Sept. 2, 1817, Zephaniah Clark became the publisher and continued the paper until after 1820.

Troy Pub. Lib. has May 15, 1798-June 10, 1801; July 19, 1803; June 11, 1805-June 7, 1808; July 8-Aug. 19, 1817; Sept. 9, 1817-Dec. 26, 1820. N. Y. Hist. Soc. has July 3 Extra, Nov. 9 Extra, 1798; July 16, 1800; July 7, Aug. 25, 1801; May 3, 1803. Phil. Lib. Co. has May 22, 1798. Lib. Congress has Nov. 20, 1799; Mar. 4, 1801. Troy Budget Office has Nov. 26, 1800. N. Y. Pub. Lib. has June 14, 1803; June 26, 1810; Dec. 31, 1811. Harvard has Jan. 1, 1805-Nov. 17, 1807, scattering file. Wis. Hist. Soc. has Feb. 9, 1813. Boston Athenaeum has May 5, 1818. A. A. S. has:

1798. May 15 to Dec. 25.

Extra: July 3.

Mutilated: May 22, June 5, 12, 26, July 10, 31, Aug. 7, Oct. 16, Nov. 13.

Missing: Aug. 14, 28, Sept. 4, Oct. 23, Nov. 24.

1799. Jan. 1 to Dec. 25.

Mutilated: Apr. 9, July 2, Aug. 13, Oct. 2, Dec. 25.

Missing: Dec. 18.

1800. Jan. 1st, 8, 15, 22, 29.

Feb. 5, 12.

Apr. 9.

1801. Jan. 7 to Dec. 29.

Missing: Jan. 14, Feb. 4, Mar. 18, Apr. 22, 29, Dec. 29.

1802. Jan. 5, 19, 26.

Feb. 2, 16.

Mar. 9, 23.

Apr. 6, 13, 20, 27.

May 4, 11, 18.

. 24.

23, 30.

. 20, 27.

. 4, 21, 28.

12, 19, 26.

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. 21.

25.

15, 22, 29.

6, 20.

. 10, 17.

. 8, 22.

. 12, 26.

Feb. 16.

Mar. 8, 15.

Apr. 5, 19.

May 3.

June 7.

July 12.

Aug. 9.

Sept. 27.

. Apr. 11.

- June 13, 20, 27.
Aug. 22, 29.
Sept. 12, 19, 26.
Oct. 3, 10.
Nov. 14^m, 28.
Dec. 5, 26.
1810. Jan. 2 to Dec. 25.
Missing: Jan. 2, Feb. 13, Mar. 6, July 10,
Aug. 14, Oct. 2, 16, Nov. 6, 20, 27, Dec. 4.
1811. Jan. 8, 15, 22.
Feb. 12, 19, 26.
Mar. 5, 12, 19, 26.
Apr. 2, 23, 30.
May 14, 21.
June 4, 11.
July 16, 23^m, 30.
Aug. 27.
Sept. 17, 24.
Oct. 1, 15, 29^m.
Nov. 5, 12, 26.
Dec. 3.
1812. Jan. 14, 21.
Feb. 11.
Mar. 10.
Apr. 14.
May 19.
June 23, 30.
July 7.
Sept. 22.
1813. Jan. 26.
1814. Feb. 8^m.
June 28.
Aug. 23.
Nov. 22.
1815. Feb. 28.
Mar. 7, 14^m, 21.
July 4.
1816. Jan. 9.

Troy Post, 1812-1820+.

Weekly. Established Sept. 1, 1812, by Parker and Bliss (William S. Parker and Pellatiah Bliss), with the title of "The Troy Post." With the issue of Nov. 10, 1812, the title was altered to "Troy Post." Bliss died Sept. 30, 1818, but there was no change in the imprint. With the issue of Apr. 6, 1819, the paper was published by William S. Parker, with the announcement of the dissolution of partnership signed by Parker alone and dated Mar. 23. The paper was continued by Parker until after 1820.

Troy Pub. Lib. has Sept. 1, 1812-Dec. 26, 1820. N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Sept. 1, 1812-Aug. 23, 1814. N. Y. State Lib. has Apr. 27, 1813; Aug. 27, 1816-Aug. 19, 1817. Boston Athenaeum has Dec. 5, 1820. A. A. S. has:

1812. Oct. 13.

1816. May 28.

1818. Feb. 10.

[Troy] Recorder, 1795.

Weekly. Removed from Lansingburgh and established at Troy in May 1795, without change of title or volume numbering. It was entitled "The Recorder" and was published by Gardner & Hill (George Gardner and James Hill). On June 26, 1795, this firm was dissolved and the paper was published by Gardner and Billings (George Gardner and Nathaniel Billings.) The earliest Troy issue located is that of July 14, 1795, vol. 3, no. 203. In August, 1795, George Gardner became sole publisher. The last issue located is that of Dec. 8, 1795, vol. 7, no. 224. At some time between Sept. 1 and Nov. 3, 1795, the numbering was changed from vol. 5 to vol. 7, possibly because Gardner assumed that his paper was the successor of "The Federal Herald," established at Lansingburgh in 1788.

Harvard has July 28, Sept. 1, Dec. 8, 1795. Troy Pub. Lib. has Aug. 18, 1795. N. Y. Pub. Lib. has Aug. 18, 1795. Lib. Congress Nov. 3, 1795, A. A. S. has:

1795. July 14, 28^m.

Aug. 4.

Nov. 17.

[Union] *American Constellation*, 1800-1801.

Weekly. Established Nov. 22, 1800, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Aug. 15, 1801, vol. 1, no. 39, published by D[aniel] Cruger, Jun., with the title of "The American Constellation." Cruger removed to Owego late in 1801.

Lib. Congress has Aug. 15, 1801. LeRoy W. Kingman, Owego, has Sept. 12, 1801.

[Union Springs] *Cayuga Tocsin*, 1812-1813.

Weekly. Established Jan. 2, 1812, by Royall T. Chamberlain, with the title of "The Cayuga Tocsin." The last issue located which was published at Union Springs is that of Apr. 15, 1813, vol. 2, no. 68. Between this date and June 2, 1813, the paper was removed to Auburn, where it was continued under the same title, without change of volume numbering.

Harvard has Mar. 12, Oct. 22, Nov. 19, Dec. 3, 10, 1812; Apr. 1, 15, 1813. Wis. Hist. Soc. has Jan. 9, 1812. A. A. S. has:

1812. Jan. 2, 9, 16, 23, 30.

Feb. 27.

1813. Jan. 20.

[Upton] *Columbian Courier*, 1794.

Weekly. Established June 3, 1794, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Sept. 9, 1794, vol. 1, no. 15, published by Gardner and Hill (George Gardner and James Hill), with the title of "Columbian Courier." The paper was published at "Upton, in Stillwater," and an advertisement, dated Sept. 1, 1794, stated that the inhabitants of the village had voted that that portion of the town "near the Church" was to be called Upton. Gardner and Hill removed to Lansingburgh in December, 1794, where they established the "Lansingburgh Recorder."

A. A. S. has:

1794. Sept. 9, 16.

Utica Club, 1814-1815.

Weekly. Established Aug. 11, 1814, with the title of "The Club," edited by Henry Goodfellow, Esq. & Company, and published by Seward & Williams (Asahel Seward and William Williams). It was of quarto size and was suspended before the close of the year (J. C. Williams, "An Oneida County Printer," p. 60, and "Utica Patriot" of Aug. 2, 1814). A new series was announced to begin Jan. 5, 1815, but the day of publication was delayed ("Utica Patriot," Jan. 3, 10, 1815). It was revived Feb. 27, 1815, with new volume numbering, judging from the issue of Mar. 6, 1815, vol. 1, no. 2, entitled "The Club," edited by Henry Goodfellow, Esquire and Company, and printed by Willard & Ingersoll (— Willard and Jonathan Ingersoll, Jun.). The next issue located, that of May 15, 1815, vol 1, no. 12, was entitled "The Utica Club," and was published by Jonathan Ingersoll, Jun. The last issue located is that of June 12, 1815, vol. 1, no. 16.

Oneida Hist. Soc., Utica, has June 12, 1815. A. A. S. has:

1815. Mar. 6, May 15.

[Utica] Columbian Gazette, 1803-1820+.

Weekly. Established Mar. 21, 1803, by Thomas Walker, with the title of "Columbian Gazette." It succeeded his "Columbian Patriotic Gazette" published at Rome, continuing the advertisements, but adopting a new volume numbering. With the issue of Jan. 4, 1814, Eliasaph Dorchester was admitted to partnership, under the firm name of Walker & Dorchester. With the issue of Dec. 31, 1816, the firm was dissolved and T. Walker again became sole publisher. The paper was so continued until after 1820.

Oneida Hist. Soc., Utica, has Mar. 28, 1803-Mar. 12, 1804; Mar. 18, 1805-Mar. 10, 1807; Mar. 8, 22, Apr. 6,

1808; Apr. 25, 1809; Mar. 12, 1811-Mar. 3, 1812; July 6, 1813; June 21-Nov. 22, 1814, fair; Feb. 21, Oct. 3, 1815; July 9, 30, Oct. 15-Dec. 17, 1816; Jan. 28, July 22, Sept. 16, 23, Nov. 11, 18, Dec. 9-30, 1817; Jan. 13, 1818-Dec. 26, 1820. Harvard has Apr. 25, 1803-Mar. 24, 1806, scattering issues; Mar. 31, 1807. N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Mar. 17, 1807-Mar. 5, 1811; Mar. 10, 1812-Feb. 28, 1815; Mar. 4, 1817-Dec. 26, 1820. N. Y. State Lib. has July 13, Sept. 7, Nov. 2, Dec. 14, 1813; Apr. 12, 19, Aug. 23, Sept. 6, 1814; Nov. 19-Dec. 3, 17-31, 1816; Jan. 7, 28, Mar. 4, 1817. Wis. Hist. Soc. has May 9, 1803. N. Y. Pub. Lib. has Oct. 19, 1813. Lib. Congress has Apr. 27, 1819. A. A. S. has:

- 1803. Apr. 25.
Sept. 5, 19, 26.
Oct. 3.
Nov. 28.
- 1804. Feb. 13, 27.
Mar. 12, 19.
June 18.
Dec. 3.
- 1805. Apr. 8, 22.
- 1806. June 3.
July 8.
Nov. 25.
- 1807. June 16.
Sept. 29.
Oct. 13.
- 1808. Mar. 29.
Apr. 19.
May 17.
July 5, 12, 26.
Aug. 16, 23.
Sept. 6, 13, 20, 27.
Oct. 4, 11, 18, 25.
Nov. 1, 8, 15^m.
Dec. 20.
Supplement: Oct. 4.

1809. Jan. 10, 17, 31.
Feb. 7, 21.
Mar. 7, 14, 21, 28.
Apr. 4, 11, 18, 25.
May 2, 16, 23, 30^m.
June 6, 27.
July 4, 18.
Aug. 1.
Oct. 31.
Nov. 7.
Dec. 26.
1810. Jan. 2, 9, 23.
Feb. 6.
May 1, 8.
June 5.
July 10, 17, 24.
Sept. 18.
1811. Feb. 19, 26.
Mar. 2, 19.
May 28.
1812. Nov. 3.
1813. Jan. 5.
1817. Aug. 5.
1819. July 27.

Utica Observer, 1817-1818, 1819-1820+.

Weekly. Established Jan. 7, 1817, by E[liasaph] Dorchester, with the title of "The Utica Observer." Toward the close of the year 1818, it was removed to Rome, where it was called the "Oneida Observer," but in 1819, it was brought back to Utica, where it was continued under its early title until after 1820 (see Munsell, "Typographical Miscellany," p. 138; French, "Gazetteer of New York," 1860, p. 459; and Bagg, "Memorial History of Utica," p. 481).

A. A. S. has:

1817. July 1, 8.
Aug. 5.

[Utica] Patriot, 1803-1820+.

Weekly and semi-weekly. Established Feb. 28, 1803, with the title of "The Patriot," printed for the Editor [John H. Lothrop], by Merrell & Seward [Ira Merrell and Asahel Seward]. It succeeded the "Whitestown Gazette and Cato's Patrol" and continued its advertisements, although adopting a new volume numbering. With the issue of Feb. 27, 1804, the title was changed to "Utica Patriot." With the issue of Aug. 26, 1806, Seward retired from the firm and the paper was printed for the Editor, by Ira Merrell. In 1811 Lothrop was succeeded as editor by William H. Maynard (M. M. Bagg, "Pioneers of Utica," p. 367). With the issue of May 4, 1813, Merrell took George Camp into partnership, and the paper was printed for the Editor by Merrell & Camp. With the issue of Jan. 2, 1816, the paper was combined with "The Patrol" and issued semi-weekly under the title of "Utica Patriot, & Patrol," printed for the Proprietors by Ira Merrell. The prospectus of the union shows that the Proprietors were Asahel Seward, William H. Maynard and William Williams, and the issue of Apr. 2, 1816 states that Maynard was the editor. With the issue of Apr. 2, 1816, the paper reverted to a weekly. Williams retired as a proprietor in 1817. Merrell continued to print the paper for the other two proprietors until after 1820.

N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Mar. 7, 1803-Dec. 29, 1807, fair; Feb. 15, 1814-Dec. 26, 1820. Oneida Hist. Soc., Utica, has Dec. 19, 1803; Jan. 9, 1804; Feb. 10, Apr. 21, 1807; Jan. 19, 1808-Feb. 13, 1810; May 22, 1810; Sept. 10, 1811; Apr. 21, May 5, June 2, Nov. 24, 1812; July 6, 1813; Mar. 29, May 24, July 5-Aug. 2, 23, Sept. 20, Nov. 22, Dec. 20, 1814; Feb. 7, Mar. 21, Apr. 18, May 2, June 13, July 25, Aug. 8, 22, Oct. 10, 31-Nov. 28, Dec. 19, 26 1815; Jan. 19, 30, Feb. 2, 9, 13, 23, May 21, June 1, 7, 14, 21, 28, July 23, Aug. 6, 20, Sept. 17, Oct. 8, 29, Nov. 12, 20, Dec. 17, 24, 31, 1816; Dec. 30, 1817; Feb. 3, Mar. 10, 1818; Jan. 26, May 2, 16, July 4, 1819; May 9, 1820. Rochester Hist. Soc. has May 21, 1811-Nov. 15,

fair. Buffalo Hist. Soc. has Feb. 18, 1812-Feb. 8, 1814. N. Y. State Lib. has Aug. 19, 26, 1806; Apr. 20, July 6, Aug. 3, 10, Sept. 7, Nov. 9, Dec. 14, 1813; Jan. 25, Mar. 2, Apr. 19, 26, May 10, 17, June 28-July 12, Aug. 9, Oct. 18, 1814; Mar. 12, Sept. 17, Nov. 5, 12, 26-Dec. 17, 1816; Jan. 6, Feb. 18-Mar. 4, 1817. Lib. Congress has June 20, 1803. Yale has May 28, 1811. N. Y. Pub. Lib. has Feb. 22, 1814; Mar. 14, 1815. A. A. S. has:

1803. Mar. 14, 21^m, 28^m.
Apr. 4^m, 11^m, 18^m, 25.
May 30.
June 13, 20, 27.
July 4, 11, 18, 25.
Aug. 1, 8, 15, 22, 29.
Sept. 5, 12, 19, 26.
Oct. 10, 17, 24, 31.

1804. Mar. 5, 12^m.
Apr. 2, 9, 16, 23, 30^m.
May 14^m, 21.
June 4^m, 11, 18^m, 25^m.
July 16^m, 23, 30.
Aug. 6, 20.
Sept. 3, 17, 24^m.
Oct. 8, 22, 29^m.
Nov. 5, 12, 19, 26^m.

1805. Apr. 1, 15.

1806. Oct. 14.
Dec. 9.

1807. Oct. 27.

1809. Aug. 22.
Sept. 26.
Nov. 21.

1810. Jan. 30.
Apr. 10, 24.
May 8.
July 10.

1811. Feb. 26.

Mar. 19.

May 28.

June 25.

1815. Feb. 24.

Mar. 7, 21.

Apr. 18.

May 9.

1816. Jan. 2, 5, 9, 12, 16, 23, 26, 30.

Feb. 2, 6^m, 9, 13, 16, 20, 23, 27^m.

Mar. 1, 5, 8, 12, 15, 19^m, 22, 26.

[Utica] Patrol, 1815-1816.

Weekly. Established Jan. 5, 1815, by Seward and Williams (Asahel Seward and William Williams), with the title of "The Patrol." Although a weekly, published on Thursday, another edition, with later news, was frequently issued on Monday. The last issue with this title was that of Jan. 1, 1816, vol. 1, no. 52, after which the paper was combined with the "Utica Patriot," to form the "Utica Patriot, & Patrol," which see.

N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Jan. 5, 1815-Jan. 1, 1816. Utica Pub. Lib. has Sept. 18, 1815. A. A. S. has:

1815. Jan. 5, 12, 30, 31.

Feb. 2, 6^m, 13, 23^m.

Mar. 6, 9, 13, 16, 23, 30.

Apr. 6, 12, 24^m.

May 8, 11, 22.

June 1, 8, 19, 22, 29.

July 10, 17^m, 24, 31.

Aug. 7^m, 14, 21, 28.

Sept. 11, 25.

Oct. 2, 9, 16, 23, 30.

Nov. 6, 13, 20, 27.

Dec. 4, 11, 18, 25.

Supplement: Dec. 11.

1816. Jan. 1.

[Utica] Whitestown Gazette, 1798-1803.

Weekly. Removed from Whitestown, without change of volume numbering, in July, 1798. The earliest Utica issue located is that of Sept. 3, 1798, vol. 3, no. 118, published by William M'Lean, with the title of "Whitestown Gazette. And Cato's Patrol." With the issue of June 21, 1802, the title was altered so as to read "Whitestown Gazette and Cato's Patrol." The last issue with this title was that of Feb. 21, 1803, vol. 7, no. 351, when the paper was succeeded by "The Patriot," which see.

Oneida Hist. Soc., Utica, has Sept. 17, Dec. 3, 1798; Mar. 31, Apr. 7, 1800; Jan. 5, 12, 1801. N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Oct. 6, 1800; Jan. 12, 1801-Feb. 21, 1803. Amer. Inst. of N. Y. has Apr. 5, 12, 1802. Long Id. Hist. Soc. has Mar. 9, 1801; July 19, 1802. A. A. S. has:

1798. Sept. 3.

Oct. 1.

1800. May 26.

June 30.

Nov. 3, 24.

1803. Feb. 21.

[Wardsbridge] Orange County Republican, 1806-1808.

Weekly. Established May 6, 1806, with the title of "Orange County Republican," published for the Proprietors by Cyrus Beach, and Luther Pratt. The issue of May 6, 1806, has "Montgomery" at the head of the local news, but the issue of May 13 and subsequent issues have "Wardsbridge" at the head of the local news and "Wardsbridge: Montgomery Township" in the imprint. The paper was so continued at least until Dec. 11, 1806, vol. 1, no. 32. The next issue located is that of Mar. 23, 1808, vol. 2, no. 19, published by Cyrus Beach. This issue contains an advertisement of the dissolution of the firm of Cyrus Beach & Co., signed by Cyrus Beach and Joseph Tennery, and dated Jan. 1, 1808. It mentions accounts due from May 6, 1806, to Oct. 1, 1807. No issue has been located after Mar. 23, 1808.

Newburgh Lib. has May 6-Sept. 11, 1806; also Carrier's Address Jan. 1, 1807. Harvard has May 22, July 3, 1806; Mar. 23, 1808. Frank Drake, Goshen, has July 31, 1806. A. A. S. has:

1806. May 22, 29.

June 5.

Nov. 27.

Dec. 11.

Waterford Gazette, 1801-1818.

Weekly. Established Oct. 27, 1801, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Nov. 17, 1801, vol. 1, no. 4, published by Horace H. Wadsworth, with the title of "Waterford Gazette." About 1812, Charles Webster became the publisher, and he was succeeded in 1815 by Truman Webster. In a list of New York newspapers of Jan. 1, 1818 (see "Albany Argus," Jan. 6, 1818), the paper is recorded, with Truman Webster as publisher. How long thereafter it was continued is not known.

Harvard has Nov. 17, 1801-Dec. 10, 1805, fair; Sept. 22, Oct. 6, 20, 1807; Sept. 11, 25, 1810. Mass. Hist. Soc. has Mar. 9, 1802; Apr. 9, 30, May 21, 1811. Amer. Inst. of N. Y. has Apr. 6, 1802. N. Y. State Lib. has Mar. 5, Apr. 2, 1811. N. Y. Pub. Lib. has Feb. 20, 1816. A. A. S. has:

1803. July 26.

Aug. 23.

Sept. 6, 13, 27.

1804. July 3.

1807. Apr. 21.

June 16.

Dec. 29.

1808. Jan. 5, 12.

1810. Feb. 13.

May 29.

July 24, 31.

Oct. 30.

1811. Feb. 26.
Mar. 5, 19.
Apr. 2.
May 7^m.
Nov. 5.
1813. Aug. 3.

Waterloo Gazette, 1817-1820+.

Weekly. Established May 28, 1817, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of July 2, 1817, vol. 1, no. 6, published by George Lewis, with the title of "Waterloo Gazette." At some time between Oct. 8 and Dec. 17, 1817, Lewis transferred the paper to Hiram Leavenworth, who continued it until after 1820.

Waterloo Lib. has July 2, 1817-Dec. 13, 1820, fair.
Yale has Nov. 11, 1818.

[Watertown] American Advocate, 1814-1817.

Weekly. A continuation, without change of volume numbering, of the "Northern Luminary." The earliest issue located with the title of "American Advocate" is that of Nov. 23, 1814, vol. 2, no. 96, published by Jairus Rich. It is included in a list of New York newspapers of December, 1815 (printed in the "Albany Argus" of Dec. 26, 1815). It probably was discontinued early in 1817.

A. A. S. has:

1814. Nov. 23.

[Watertown] American Eagle, 1810-1812.

Weekly. Established Apr. 10, 1810, with the title of "American Eagle," printed for Henry Coffeen. It succeeded "The Hemisphere," continuing the advertisements, but adopting a new volume numbering. F. B. Hough, in his "History of Jefferson County," 1854, p. 372, states that Coffeen was the proprietor, and Abraham Taylor was the printer, but Taylor's name does not appear in any of the issues located. The last issue located is that of Sept. 25, 1810, vol. 1, no. 25. In 1811 or 1812, the paper was succeeded by the "Republican Watchman."

N. Y. State Lib. has Sept. 25, 1810. A. A. S. has:

1810. Apr. 10, 24.

May 29.

June 5, 19.

Aug. 14.

[Watertown] Hemisphere, 1809-1810.

Weekly. Established Oct. 17, 1809, judging from the earliest issue located, that of Feb. 6, 1810, vol. 1, no. 17, printed by Abraham Taylor, with the title of "The Hemisphere." It was discontinued in April, 1810, to be succeeded by the "American Eagle," which see.

A. A. S. has:

1810. Feb. 6.

[Watertown] Independent Republican, 1819-1820+.

Weekly. Established in the spring of 1819 by Seth A. Abbey, with the title of "Independent Republican," and so continued until after 1820 (F. B. Hough, "History of Jefferson County," 1854, p. 372). No copy located.

[Watertown] Jefferson and Lewis Gazette, 1817-1819.

Weekly. Established in the spring of 1817 by Dorrephus Abbey and John H. Lord, Jr., with the title of "Jefferson and Lewis Gazette," and discontinued in April, 1819 (F. B. Hough, "History of Jefferson County," 1854, p. 372). It is included in a list of newspapers of Jan. 1, 1818 (printed in the "Albany Argus" of Jan. 6, 1818), where Lord is given as the publisher. No copy located.

[Watertown] Northern Luminary, 1813-1814.

Weekly. Established Jan. 26, 1813, by J[airus] Rich, with the title of "Northern Luminary." It succeeded Coffeen's paper, the "Republican Watchman," continuing the advertisements, but adopting a new volume numbering. The title was not printed across the top of the first page, but was given only in column headings on the second and fourth pages. The last issue located is that of Mar. 2, 1814, vol. 2, no. 58. The paper was

succeeded, without change of volume numbering, in 1814 by the "American Advocate," which see.

A. A. S. has:

1813. Feb. 2, 23.

Apr. 20.

1814. Mar. 2.

[Watertown] Republican Watchman, 1812-1813.

Weekly. Established in 1812, or possibly in 1811, by Henry Coffeen, and continuing his other paper, the "American Eagle" (see statement in "Northern Luminary" of Feb. 2, 1813). Coffeen sold out the establishment in January, 1813, to Jairus Rich, who changed the title to the "Northern Luminary." No copies of the "Republican Watchman" have been located.

[West Farms] West-Chester Patriot, 1813.

Semi-weekly. Established in April, 1813, judging from the date of the first and only issue located, that of July 3, 1813, no. 23, published by M[] Lopez, with the title of "West-Chester Patriot."

A. A. S. has:

1813. July 3.

Whitesborough, see under Whitestown, Western Centinel.

Whitestown Gazette, 1793, 1796-1798.

Weekly. Established July 11, 1793, by Richard Vanderburgh, with the title of "Whitestown Gazette." The Utica Directory of 1828 states that the paper was published in the village of New Hartford, in the town of Whitestown, that the proprietors were Jedediah Sanger, Samuel Wells and Elijah Risley, that the printer was Richard Vanderburgh, and that it was discontinued in the winter of 1793-1794. Under date of Mar. 12, 1794, R. Vanderburgh advertises in "The Western Centinel" of Mar. 26, 1794, that beginning with Apr. 15, 1794, he will publish the "Whitestown Gazette" in a more extensive manner, under the firm of Vanderburgh, Lang and Johnson, and refers to his "former patrons." It

was revived on June 7, 1796, judging from the issue of July 5, 1796, vol. 1, no. 5, published by Samuel Wells, with the title of *Whitestown Gazette*." With the issue of July 12, 1796, William M'Lean was admitted to partnership and the paper was published by Wells and M'Lean. In August or September, 1796, Wells withdrew and William M'Lean became sole publisher. The last *Whitestown* issue was that of July 17, 1798, vol. 3, no. 111, after which the paper was removed to Utica, where it was continued without change of volume numbering.

Oneida Hist. Soc., Utica, has July 11, Aug. 22, 1793; Oct. 4, 1796; July 17, 1798. Harvard has July 19, 26, 1796; Nov. 7, 1797; June 12, 1798. A. A. S. has:

1796. July 5.
Oct. 25.

1797. Apr. 4^m.
Aug. 15.

1798. Jan. 30.
Feb. 13.

[*Whitestown*] *Western Centinel*, 1794-1800.

Weekly. Established Jan. 8, 1794, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Mar. 26, 1794, vol. 1, no. 12, published by Oliver P. Easton, with the title of "*The Western Centinel*." The *Utica Directory* of 1828 states that James Swords of New York was the proprietor and Easton the printer, and that the paper was printed in the village of Whitesborough, in the town of *Whitestown*. Before June, 1794, the title was changed to "*Western Centinel*." The last issue located is that of Apr. 19, 1797, vol. 4, no. 16. Pomroy Jones, in his "*Annals of Oneida County*," 1851, p. 521, says that Easton was succeeded by a Mr. Lewis, who was the publisher in the summer of 1799. *Whitestown* imprints show that Lewis & Webb were printers in that town in 1797, and Warren Barnard in 1800.

N. Y. Pub. Lib. has June 11, 1794. Mass. Hist. Soc. has Feb. 4, 1795. Harvard has Feb. 25, May 27, July 1, 15, Aug. 19, Sept. 16, Oct. 28, Nov. 11, Dec. 30, 1795; Apr. 6, 13, 27, May 11, 18, June 1, 22-July 6, 27-Aug. 17, 31, Sept. 14, 21, Oct. 5, 26, Nov. 2, 16-Dec. 28, 1796; Jan. 4, 11, 25, Feb. 8-Mar. 1, 15-29, Apr. 12, 19, 1797. Wis. Hist. Soc. has Mar. 18, Aug. 12, 1795. A. A. S. has:

1794. Mar. 26.

1795. Aug. 12.

1796. June 15.

Oct. 26.

NOV 17 1919

VOL. 28

NEW SERIES

PART 2

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

American Antiquarian Society

AT THE

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WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS, U. S. A.

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PROCEEDINGS

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY, OCTOBER 16, 1918.
AT THE HALL OF THE SOCIETY, WORCESTER.

The annual meeting was called to order in Antiquarian Hall, at 10.45 a. m., President Lincoln in the chair.

There were present the following members:

Henry Herbert Edes, Augustus George Bullock, Francis Henshaw Dewey, William Trowbridge Forbes, George Henry Haynes, Charles Lemuel Nichols, Waldo Lincoln, Edward Sylvester Morse, George Parker Winship, Samuel Utley, Benjamin Thomas Hill, Clarence Winthrop Bowen, Clarence Saunders Brigham, Lincoln Newton Kinnicutt, Franklin Pierce Rice, Worthington Chauncey Ford, William Coolidge Lane, Julius Herbert Tuttle, Samuel Bayard Woodward, George Hubbard Blakeslee, Charles Grenfill Washburn, Edward Luther Stevenson, Wilfred Harold Munro, Henry Winchester Cunningham, Albert Bushnell Hart, Rev. Shepherd Knapp, Samuel Verplanck Hoffmann, Archer Butler Hulbert, Rev. Herbert Edwin Lombard, Otis Grant Hammond, Charles Francis Jenney, Leonard Wheeler and Alexander George McAdie.

After the call for the meeting had been read, it was moved by Mr. Edes and voted that the reading of the records of the last meeting be omitted.

The President then read the Report of the Council, which included a memorial of Librarian Emeritus

Edmund M. Barton and reminiscences of the early meetings of the Society, prepared by Andrew McFarland Davis. The financial report was presented by the Treasurer and the Librarian's report was read by Mr. Brigham. It was moved by Mr. Cunningham, and so voted, that these papers be accepted as the Report of the Council and referred to the Committee of Publication.

The President then appointed Messrs. Bowen, Rice, and Lombard to collect and count the ballots for the election of new members. They reported the election. as resident members, of the following:—

Alfred Lawrence Aiken, of Worcester, Mass.

Charles Knowles Bolton, of Boston, Mass.

George Watson Cole, of New York, N. Y.

John Henry Edmonds, of Boston, Mass.

Leonard Leopold MacKall, of Savannah, Ga.

Samuel Lyman Munson, of Albany, N. Y.

The committee on election of President, Messrs. Edes, Knapp and Jenney, reported the unanimous election of Waldo Lincoln. For the other officers the committee, Messrs. Cunningham, Tuttle and Brigham reported the election of the following:

Vice-Presidents:

Samuel Abbott Green, LL.D., of Groton, Mass.

Andrew McFarland Davis, A M., of Cambridge, Mass.

Councillors:

Granville Stanley Hall, LL.D., of Worcester, Mass.

Samuel Utley, LL.B., of Worcester, Mass.

Arthur Prentice Rugg, LL.D., of Worcester, Mass.

Charles Grenfill Washburn, A.B., of Worcester, Mass.

Francis Henshaw Dewey, A.M., of Worcester, Mass.

Henry Winchester Cunningham, A.B., of Milton, Mass.

Clarence Winthrop Bowen, Ph.D., of New York,
N. Y.

George Parker Winship, A.M., of Cambridge, Mass.

William Howard Taft, LL.D., of New Haven, Conn.

George Hubbard Blakeslee, Ph.D., of Worcester,
Mass.

Secretary for Foreign Correspondence:

James Phinney Baxter, Litt.D., of Portland, Me.

Secretary for Domestic Correspondence:

Worthington Chauncey Ford, A.M., of Cambridge,
Mass.

Recording Secretary:

Charles Lemuel Nichols, M.D., Litt.D., of Worces-
ter, Mass.

Treasurer:

Samuel Bayard Woodward, M.D., of Worcester,
Mass.

Committee of Publication:

Franklin Pierce Rice, of Worcester, Mass.

George Henry Haynes, Ph.D., of Worcester, Mass.

Charles Lemuel Nichols, M.D., Litt. D., of Worces-
ter, Mass.

Julius Herbert Tuttle, of Dedham, Mass.

Auditors:

Benjamin Thomas Hill, A.B., of Worcester, Mass.

Homer Gage, M.D., of Worcester, Mass.

The oath was administered to the Secretary by Judge Forbes and there being no further business the Society listened to the following papers: "Nova Albion, 1579," by Alexander G. McAdie; "The Worship of Great-Grandfather," by Professor Albert B. Hart; "The Journal of Robert Rogers," prepared by William L. Clements, and read by Professor Archer B. Hulbert, Mr. Clements being prevented from

attending the meeting; "The Press in British Guiana," by James Rodway, of Georgetown, British Guiana, was read by title.

It was voted, on motion of Mr. Morse, that these papers be referred to the Committee of Publication. The President then invited the members present to lunch at his house, No. 49 Elm Street, at the close of the exercises.

There being no further business the meeting was dissolved.

CHARLES LEMUEL NICHOLS,

Recording Secretary.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

Since the last meeting three active members have died and the death of one foreign member has been reported. The death of another member, Rev. Charles S. Vedder, March 2, 1917, has only recently been reported to the Society. Edmund Mills Barton, long librarian and for the last ten years librarian emeritus, died only four days after the April meeting, not unexpectedly, for his health had been failing for several months. He was elected a member in October, 1878, and at the time of his death stood second on the list in length of membership. At a special meeting of the Council held April 15, the following minute was passed:—

The death of Edmund Mills Barton, for seventeen years assistant, for twenty-five years librarian and, since 1908, librarian emeritus, deserves more than a passing notice from the Council under whom he served so long.

During his protracted tenure of office he had an eye single to the interests of the Society. It was the object of his solicitous affection, and it was by his faithful, watchful devotion that, when limited income permitted no extensive addition to the library by purchase, much material was secured and preserved to form the nuclei of what are now some of the Society's most useful collections.

Few of the present members of the Council had official association with Mr. Barton, but all who had will bear testimony to the absolute fidelity and loyalty with which he served the Society, to his unfailing civility toward all the users of the library, and to the enthusiasm with which he welcomed every progressive movement towards increasing the Society's usefulness.

Retiring from active work nine years ago by reason of advancing age, he left behind him pleasant recollections of a gentle serenity of temper and a lovable courtesy, which marked him as a gentleman of the old school, and endeared him to all his associates.

A biographical sketch of Mr. Barton prepared by Mr. Andrew McFarland Davis will appear later in this report. Reverend Austin Samuel Garver, the loved pastor-emeritus of the First Unitarian Church of Worcester, and a member of this Society since October, 1899, died in Worcester June 21, 1918. Professor Herbert Levi Osgood, Ph.D., of New York died in that city September 11, 1918. He was elected a member in April, 1908. Biographical notices of these two gentlemen will be printed in the next number of the *Proceedings*.

Federico González Suárez, Archbishop of Quito since 1895, died December 1, 1917, at the age of seventy-three, having been born in Quito April 15, 1844. He was elected a foreign member of this Society in April, 1910. At the age of twenty-one he became a member of the order of Jesuits and, until he retired from that order in 1872, taught literature and philosophy in several Jesuit colleges and became a prolific writer on church affairs. After his retirement from the order he devoted all the time he could spare from arduous ecclesiastical duties to historical research but was always strongly attracted to archæology. He published a number of historical works, the most important being the history of Ecuador in nine volumes, in which he brought the story down to 1809. In the preparation of this great work he passed three years in Spain and Portugal. He is called the "father of Ecuadorian archæology" and ranked as one of the brilliant men of letters of South America.

The greater portion of the newspaper duplicates have recently been disposed of by exchange and sale, which has relieved the basement of a vast and embarrassing accumulation and will re-establish the Purchasing Fund at nearly double its original sum. By exchange the large debt to the Library of Congress has been cancelled, and by sale the generosity of our associate, William L. Clements, has not only aided this Society, but has enabled the University of Michi-

gan to acquire a large and comprehensive newspaper collection which must prove invaluable to the students of Michigan and the neighboring States. This Society is extremely satisfied thus to furnish the means for establishing another important collection of newspapers in the West, and congratulates the University at Ann Arbor upon being the fortunate recipient of this gift, by which this Society also reaps a certain benefit. It is not always that two literary institutions are benefited by the same generous deed.

The war, to the successful prosecution of which all else must be subservient, is casting its baleful influence upon the activities of this Society. Whether its library is a necessary enterprise and therefore entitled to ask for the exemption of its librarian and to receive its full quota of fuel, is a question which is seriously disturbing your officers. The loss of the librarian would be so grave a disaster that your president refuses to consider its possibility. Up to the present but half the amount of coal has been granted by the fuel committee of the city, which will be required to maintain the temperature within the building sufficiently high to permit the staff or the public to work there. Unfortunately bituminous coal cannot be used in the heating plant, and plans are being made to burn wood in one of the boilers if more anthracite cannot be secured. It is essential for the safety of the collections to maintain the temperature high enough to preserve the books and papers from dampness and frost, and this can be done with the coal on hand, even if the building must be closed to readers. The war is also responsible for the retirement of Miss Louise Colegrove from the staff, of which she has been an esteemed member since 1908. She is now in Switzerland in the service of the Red Cross. It is hoped that at the conclusion of the war she will return to her former position in the library. Due also indirectly to the war with its high cost of living, which has obliged him to seek more remunerative employment than this

Society can offer, is the retirement from the staff of Mr. Curtis H. Morrow, who has given up library work for teaching. His services during the past six years have been of great value in the arrangement of the newspapers and government publications. The Society is fortunate in having, during the coming winter, the assistance of our associate, Archer B. Hulbert, who will contribute a portion of his time, while lecturing at Clark University, to the duties formerly performed by Mr. Morrow.

In the Council report for April, 1917, reference was made to the extensive collection of newspaper clippings presented to the library by Mr. Franklin P. Rice, consisting largely of biographical sketches and obituary notices printed since 1860. Mr. Rice continues his interest in this collection and has added very largely to it during the last eighteen months. It occupies a part of the card catalogue case, and as a supplement to the manuscript biographical notes of the late Samuel Jennison, must prove of inestimable value as a source of biographical data, in the preparation of that long hoped for Dictionary of American Biography, which we have faith to believe will sometime be published. The Society may not appreciate how much the library owes to the fostering care of individual members. Without the interest taken in it during the past ten years by Dr. Charles L. Nichols, our almanac collection would not have attained half of its importance and value; and that our collection of bookplates has become one of the finest in the country, is due to the efforts of Rev. Mr. Lombard, who not only presented the Society with his own collection, but has continued to labor ever since for its increase and improvement. The Society has recently been offered an opportunity to acquire at a very reasonable cost a large number of engraved American portraits, which with its own not inconsiderable collection, might be made, as opportunity comes to increase it, of very great importance. It will need, however, the discrimi-

nating care of an enthusiast, who must devote considerable time to its arrangement and growth, as our staff is too small and too busy with other matters to give it the attention such a subject deserves. While this may not be a favorable time, when so many are engaged in war work, to seek for such an enthusiast, it seems advisable to let the members know that the opportunity exists in the hope that before it is lost the right man will appear.

An exhibition has been arranged in the upper hall of a number of recruiting posters used in 1861 and 1862 during the Civil War, together with specimens of the paper currency and political caricatures of that period, which the members may be interested to examine. The Society owns over a hundred of these posters but room has been found to hang only about thirty of them. They present a marked contrast to the more elaborate and high colored posters of the present war, and in reading them one wonders if it was really necessary to lay so much emphasis upon the bounties offered to recruits. If it was, patriotism was evidently at a lower ebb than has been popularly supposed. The writer's own boyish recollection is, that after the first burst of patriotic fervor, which lasted for perhaps a year, enthusiasm died out, patriotism diminished, and it became necessary to entice recruits with bounties, which varied from one to several hundred dollars, according to the liberality of the several towns and cities and the pressing need for recruits. The draft which followed soon after the publication of these posters in 1862, was very unpopular and led to serious riots in New York City and to much uneasiness elsewhere. The contrast with the present draft is marked. In the Civil War "bounty jumpers," as they were called, were one of the evils of the recruiting system and drafted men frequently purchased substitutes for large sums. Under the method adopted in the present war, by which no bounties are offered and no substitutes can be purchased, not only are the evils of the

former system avoided but patriotism seems to be increasing as the war continues.

Our honored and beloved junior vice-president is unfortunately unable to attend this meeting. As one who knew the late Edmund Mills Barton better, perhaps, than any member now living, he was invited to prepare a brief memoir of him, and as the memoir of the late Mr. Haven was, at his decease, incorporated in the report of the Council, it was proposed that a similar course be pursued now. The suggestion was therefore made to Mr. Davis, that if he would also write out his reminiscences of the early days of the Society, to be included with the memoir in the Council report, the members would be much interested in what he could tell them. This Mr. Davis kindly consented to do and his tribute to Mr. Barton and reminiscences of the Society are therefore herewith presented as the interesting portion of this report.

The death of Edmund Mills Barton in his eightieth year has removed from our midst the most familiar form amongst us and we have lost from the administrative list of our service, the name which has longest been associated with our active work. Born in Worcester, September 27, 1838, his career was completed in the same place on April 14, 1918. Indeed nearly all of his life was spent within the precincts of his native town and about two-thirds of it in the service of this Society. His education, begun in the public schools, was finished with a course at a private school in Northborough, following which came three years of mercantile life. During the war formerly spoken of as the War of the Rebellion and of late as the Civil War, he was for a time in the service of the Sanitary Commission. It was far more consonant with his gentle and affectionate disposition that his patriotic activities should be in the nature of relief to the suffering and aid to the wounded than that he himself should be responsible in any way for the conditions which it was his vocation to relieve. At the close of

the War he was on duty in connection with the 5th Corps of the Army of the Potomac. Relieved from this service he granted himself the one great indulgence of his life, a few months of travel and then on the first of April, 1866, as assistant librarian, entered upon the loyal and faithful service in the employment of this Society which was to prove continuous for fifty-two years.

He was deeply interested in the little church of which he was a member for a period covering nearly the same time as that which he gave to us, and on that side of his life was connected with many philanthropic and benevolent societies, while on the side of his professional labors he became associated with the great organizations known as the American Library Association and the American Historical Association. He was fond of music and this found expression in the record of his life, through the active support of the Worcester Choral Union and the Worcester Musical Association.

The story of his professional career can be told in a few words. Chosen as an assistant to Doctor Haven April 1, 1866, he was elected Librarian April 24, 1883. His last report as Librarian was submitted at the October meeting of the Society in 1908, at which meeting the Council reported that in view of Mr. Barton's long and faithful services, he had been elected Librarian Emeritus and to this announcement was added the statement: "Mr. Barton will have a desk in the Library and advise the staff so that his great knowledge of the Library will be still available to the Society." From that date till he was stricken with the illness which carried him off, he performed no specific duty at the Hall, but there was seldom a day passed when he did not pay a visit to his old co-workers. These daily meetings revived memories in their minds of their years of association with him, characterized on his part throughout the entire period by his cheerful smile and his unruffled temper, and these memories secured for him at all times an affectionate reception.

Any person who analyzes the record of Mr. Barton's life and examines the educational opportunities which had been at his disposal at the time that he was appointed assistant librarian, will recognize at once that it was not probable that he could ever have acquired the qualifications demanded of a professional librarian today. It must not be forgotten, however, that at that time there was no such profession. Should we apply the same test to Mr. Haven we should find that he could lay no claim to the title. He was a lawyer by profession, and a historical student who had already acquired reputation when he was summoned to Worcester. His great learning and the wonderful astuteness which he displayed in the prosecution of his investigations in American archæology, were of far more value to the reputation of this Society than would have been his services as librarian had he possessed the technical training and professional requirements demanded of a librarian today. Notwithstanding the fact that William Lincoln, when he wrote his History of Worcester, said that the collections of this Society had been kept open to the public freely, and had been much frequented by strangers and scholars, the liberal manner in which the books upon the shelves of a public library today are made available to students, whether they have special rights of access or not, was not fully conceived of at that time, and the necessity of opening up this access to the books through a suitable catalogue was not adequately recognized. The card catalogue, the key that opens the door to the shelves today, had not been brought to its present state of perfection, and as a rule, knowledge of what was in a library was only to be obtained from an inadequate catalogue supplemented by the aid of those who arranged the books upon the shelves. In the development of the use of our library and in the improvement of the means of bringing our resources to the knowledge of students, Mr. Barton participated, and it was under his personal supervision that the ex-

tensive acquisitions gained during the period of his active service were arranged upon the shelves, and nuclei established for future growth in special directions. The miscellaneous character of many of the gifts to the Society demanded intelligent supervision, and the study of the needs of the library made him keen to recognize in the waifs which passed through his hands, actual or potential values, hidden from those who were not educated by experience in handling such material. The increase of the number of public libraries and the steady development of their use has created the professional librarian, and if the limitations of Mr. Barton's education cut him off from some of the activities demanded in that field, he had at any rate the compensation of knowing that with every year of experience his knowledge of the demands of his service had increased and that he had thus become of greater value to us in the administration of his daily work.

During the first hundred years of this Society, there were practically but three persons elected to the office of librarian: Christopher C. Baldwin, Samuel F. Haven, and Edmund M. Barton. It is inevitable that one who can call himself a contemporary of all three should pause while recalling the career of the last and indulge in reminiscences of the other two. It is quite within the probabilities that I may have seen Mr. Baldwin. At any rate I have a distinct idea of his social characteristics, which if it does not permit me to recall his personal appearance, at least presents a vivid picture of his social attractions. During the days of my boyhood, I have heard my mother often speak of him. It was evident that he was a frequent and welcome guest in our household, and whenever his name was mentioned it was generally accompanied by anecdotes, the interest of which hinged upon some witty sally, or humorous conversational turn of which he was the author. He was clearly the one upon whom, when he was present, the little clique of inti-



mates depended for the life and animation of their social circle, and precisely as he has left behind him a distinct impression among our librarians as a collector whose characteristic it was to discover hidden treasure of valuable material which could be procured for our use, so his brilliant conversation created a reputation which was passed on to me with such force that I shall always think of his social personality with almost as much clearness as if I had actually met him.

With Mr. Haven, my relations were on a widely different basis. I knew him while I was still a mere boy and I can almost claim that his friendship which I had occasion to realize at different times in my life, began at that early period. He permitted me several times in my boyhood to inspect what was termed by William Lincoln the "valuable cabinet illustration of antiquities and natural history," access to which was gained through his office, then established in the southern wing of the Society building on Summer Street, and it was in this building and in this office that I once attended a meeting of the Council of this Society. The meeting was held in the evening. I do not know in what year, but think it must have been in the middle forties. My father asked me if I would like to go with him to the meeting, and of course I was only too glad to keep him company. I remember nothing of what took place there, or of those present, but when I try to recall the scene, I think of an astral lamp on Mr. Haven's desk, illuminating a small area on its surface, and of the rest of the office in a sort of twilight. It is safe to say that I am the only person living who ever attended a Council meeting in the old building on Summer Street. Absence from Worcester reduced the opportunities for familiarizing myself with the library in its new home, when it was first moved to Court Hill. The various articles of interest which constituted the cabinet or museum were transferred to this building, and at a later date this side of the work of the Society was accentuated by the pre-

sentation by Mr. Salisbury of two plaster casts of heroic size, one of Michael Angelo's Moses and one of his Christ. The former startled the visitor on entering the lower hall of the building. Here he kept perpetual watch, and raised doubts in the minds of those familiar with the alleged objects of the Society whether he was illustrative of "antiquity" or of "natural history." When it became evident to the Council that the field covered by the collections of the Society would, under the altered conditions of modern life, be better covered by narrowing its limits, the question arose what should be done with these various objects of interest in the cabinet. How they were distributed, and what finally became of the statues, has been disclosed in the reports of the Council and of the librarian. Suffice it to say that the Society entered upon its work in the new building on Salisbury Street without a cabinet of antiquities and without the giant statues one of which, as has already been stated, confronted the visitor on entering the lower hall of the Court Hill building, while the other was on the story above.

What the members who were in the habit of attending the meetings in that building will always miss was the opportunity for seeing their friends afforded by the informal assemblage in the librarian's office prior to the opening of the meeting. Here one could confer with the Worcester members and later as the trains arrived from the various points of compass, the newly arrived members from more distant localities. This opportunity for the interchange of friendly intercourse was of inestimable value, and was followed by a formal meeting, held in a pleasant room with good acoustic properties, on the walls of which numerous portraits were hung. Moreover, the room was equipped with interesting furniture which at every turn reminded one that the Society was Antiquarian. The informal and the formal meeting together left a highly satisfactory impression on those who were present. The

whole thing was in its way unique. With a good chance of seeing Doctor Peabody and Charles Deane, George E. Ellis and Justin Winsor and possibly also Doctor Green seated on the sofas which were placed on either side of the Secretary's table, at right angles to the chairs in which the audience was seated, and perhaps with Charles Francis Adams and William B. Weedon, "Nat" Paine and Henry Haynes in the front row of the old-fashioned chairs which furnished the seating capacity for the meeting, the scene was one not easily to be forgotten. As a rule some of these gentlemen interposed with remarks or questions during the progress of the meeting. These were generally appropriate, suggestive and interesting, but I well remember one occasion when Doctor Ellis, without any hint, or suggestion to call for his interposition, rose and pointing to the portraits of Doctor Bancroft and my father, told how on a certain occasion when he was sent to Worcester as a delegate to some convention, he was assigned to the hospitable care of my mother. There was but little point to his gossip and not altogether appropriate anecdote, but it was characteristic of the man and the occasion, and illustrates the personal element introduced in these meetings by the presence of so many distinguished men.

In my review of the career of Mr. Barton, I have mentioned but three of the librarians that this Society has had. May it be long before any person is called upon to perform a similar service for Mr. Brigham, the successor and for ten years the co-adjutor of Mr. Barton. If our first librarian could be properly characterized as a wonderful collector; our second as a distinguished archæologist; our third as one who knew how skilfully to sort out, arrange and make accessible our acquisitions, it would seem that our fourth is destined to become *the* authority upon the gigantic subject of the place in history of the newspapers of the American continents and of the islands of the Caribbean Sea.

WALDO LINCOLN,
For the Council.

OBITUARIES.

AUSTIN SAMUEL GARVER.

Austin Samuel Garver died in Worcester, Mass., June 20, 1918. He was born in Scotland, Penn., December 12, 1847; was a student in Pennsylvania State College 1865-1867, receiving his A.M. from that college in 1890. He was graduated from Andover Theological Seminary in 1871, remaining as a post-graduate student about one year, was pastor of the Congregational church in Hingham, Mass., 1872-1875, and in Wakefield, Mass., 1875-1880. In 1880 he became pastor of the Unitarian Church in Hopedale, Mass., remaining there till 1883, when he came to the Second Parish Church in Worcester, holding this pastorate till his resignation in 1910, on the twenty-fifth anniversary of his installation; and since then he has been pastor emeritus. On August 2, 1881, he married Sarah C. Brackett, of Braintree, Mass., who survives him.

Doctor Garver was a deep student of art and taught classes in art for many years; was active in all religious educational and philanthropic work in Worcester and vicinity; was trustee of Clark University and of the Worcester Polytechnic Institute, vice-president of Leicester Academy, an incorporator, trustee and president of the Worcester Art Museum, president of the Worcester Art Society, member of the Worcester School Board for thirteen years, and a member of many local clubs and societies. He was elected to this Society in 1899, and made these contributions to its Proceedings:—"Greek Archæology" at the April

meeting in 1902; Obituary Sketch of Dr. Edward Everett Hale at the October meeting in 1909.

S. U.

HERBERT LEVI OSGOOD

Herbert Levi Osgood, who died on September 11, 1918, was born at Canton, Me., was prepared for college at Wilton Academy, and was graduated with honors from Amherst in 1877. After teaching two years at Worcester Academy he took post-graduate courses at Yale and Amherst, and in 1880 received the A.M. degree from the latter institution. In 1881 he matriculated in the University of Berlin. On returning to America he taught from 1883 to 1889 in the Boys' High School, Brooklyn, during part of which time he studied at Columbia, chiefly under Burgess, and in 1888 took the Ph.D. degree, with a dissertation on "Socialism and Anarchism: Rodbertus and Proudhon."

In 1890 he was called to Columbia as adjunct professor of history, and in 1896 was given the professorship which he held until the time of his death. He had been much influenced by the work of Leopold von Ranke, and, like that historian, tracing the course of political development, rigorously followed his maxim to seek out the "most genuine immediate documents," and emulated the brevity and clarity of his style. While still a graduate he dedicated himself to the study of the institutional beginnings of the United States. In 1887 he contributed his first essay on "England and the Colonies" to the "Political Science Quarterly," of which he subsequently became an editor and in which he published many articles and scores of reviews. After 1895, he read several papers before the American Historical Association, establishing his classification of the American Colonies. In 1904 he produced the first two volumes of the "American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century," followed

by a third in 1907. This work won him the Loubat prize and the degree of LL.D. from Amherst. Three sojourns for study in England (1889-'90, 1908-'09, 1914) enabled him to consider fairly the imperial side of the development of the English settlements, and the material gained, together with that gathered by extended researches in every one of the thirteen original states, constituted the basis for four volumes on the "American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century," which he has left almost ready for the press. His article in the "Encyclopedia Britannica" (11th Edition), vol. xxvii, pp. 633-684, sets forth many of his conclusions.

Besides his contribution to the literature of American history, should be mentioned that to archival science. He had been impressed with the utility of von Sybel's service in the orderly arrangement of the public papers of Prussia, and with this ideal of thoroughness, his elaborate report on the condition of the archives of New York, published in 1901, set a model for other investigations conducted by the Public Archives Commission of the American Historical Association, and influenced legislation in several states. He long served as a member of the commission and was for a time its chairman. He edited the eight volumes of the minutes of the common council of New York, as published in 1905, and was a member of the committee to publish the subsequent volumes now appearing. He arranged for and superintended the publication of the records of the Virginia Company by the Library of Congress in 1906. As a teacher he developed important seminars in European, English and American history, conceived and supervised the production of many valuable dissertations, and sent forth many scholars well-trained and zealous. He is survived by his widow, Mrs. Caroline A. Symonds Osgood, two sons and a daughter.

His works are his monument.

D. R. FOX.

CHARLES STUART VEDDER

Rev. Charles Stuart Vedder died March 2, 1917, at Charleston, S. C. He was born in Schenectady, N. Y., October 7, 1826, the son of Albert A. and Susan Fulton Vedder, and was graduated from Union College in 1851 with the degree of A. B. After a few years spent in newspaper work he entered the Theological Seminary at Columbia, S. C., where he was graduated in 1861. In that year he was ordained in the Presbyterian church and assumed a pastorate at Summerville, where he served until 1866, when he accepted a call to the Huguenot church at Charleston. Here he remained until 1914 when he became pastor emeritus. During this long period he was prominently engaged in the social, religious and educational life at Charleston, being connected with many religious and philanthropic societies. He received the degree of D.D. from the University of New York in 1876, the degree of LL.D. from the College of Charleston in 1876, and the degree of L.H.D. from Union College in 1911. On June 7, 1854, he married Helen A. Scovel, of Albany, N. Y. He was elected to the American Antiquarian Society in 1901, and at the time of his death was the oldest member of the Society.

C. S. B.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

The Treasurer presents herewith his annual report of receipts and expenditures for the year ending Sept. 30, 1918, to which is appended a statement of the Society's investments and of the condition of the various funds.

Oct. 1, 1918, the net assets were invested as follows:

Library Building	\$189,905.71
Public Funds	115,589.50
Railroad bonds	101,515.50
Miscellaneous bonds	47,772.00
Railroad shares	22,017.00
Bank shares	5,345.00
Miscellaneous shares	8,234.50
Mortgages	15,100.00
Bank deposit	2,000.00
Cash on deposit	978.25
	\$508,457.46

Which sum includes unexpended income amounting to	5.90
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	\$508,451.56
Less Library Building	189,905.71

Capital bearing interest	\$318,545.85
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With the exception of \$6,800 New York, New Haven & Hartford stock, \$5,000 Boston & Maine bonds, and \$4,000 Chicago & Eastern Illinois bonds; all of our securities are paying dividends or interest.

\$8,000 in bonds of the City of Chicago became due and were paid during the year, and in their place the Treasurer, with the consent of the Finance Committee, purchased \$3,000 United States Government 4% bonds, which have since been converted into 4¼% bonds; \$2,000 United Kingdom of Great Britain & Ireland 5½% bonds, and also paid a note of \$3,756 owed by the Society to the Worcester Art Museum.

Principal account has been increased by receipt of \$57.36 from the James Lyman Whitney Estate; \$465 by dividends in liquidation of two banks, \$450 from Worcester National Bank and \$15 from Old Boston National Bank; \$811 by gifts; \$100 by income transferred to principal; \$50 by life membership; \$763.25 by sale of duplicates; \$252 by reimbursement to the Publishing Fund and \$177 to the Salisbury Legacy Fund according to the plan of the Council three years ago.

SAMUEL B. WOODWARD, *Treasurer.*

PRINCIPAL ACCOUNT

Principal Oct. 1, 1917 (less unexpended income for 1917)	\$509,169.10
Principal received since Oct. 1, 1917	
Dividends in liquidation.....	\$465.00
Julius H. Tuttle Life Membership.....	50.00
Reimbursement of Publishing Fund by one-third amount charged in 1915 report.....	252.00
Reimbursement of Salisbury Legacy Fund by one-third amount charged in 1915 report....	177.00
Income added to principal:	
James L. Whitney Fund.....	\$10.00
Purchasing Fund.....	90.00
	<hr/>
	100.00
Herbert E. Lombard: for Special Gifts Fund...	28.00
Henry W. Cunningham: for Special Gifts Fund.	285.00
Anonymous: for Special Gifts Fund.....	300.00
Worcester Art Museum: for Special Gifts Fund.	200.00
James Lyman Whitney Estate.....	57.36
Sale of duplicates.....	763.25
	<hr/>
	2,675.61
	<hr/>
	\$511,844.71
Expended for books from Purchasing Fund.....	\$2,582.15
Expended for books from Special Gifts Fund.....	311.00
Expended for salaries from Special Gifts Fund....	300.00
Expended for work on manuscripts from Special Gifts Fund.....	200.00
	<hr/>
	3,393.15
	<hr/>
	\$508,451.56

INCOME ACCOUNT

Unexpended Income 1917.....	\$56.81
Income from Investments.....	13,871.82
Assessments.....	295.00
Sale of Publications.....	105.00
	<hr/>
	14,328.63
	<hr/>
	\$522,780.19

EXPENDITURES

Income carried to Principal.....	\$100.00
Incidental Expense.....	418.63
Salaries.....	6,923.33
Light, Heat, Water, and Telephone.....	1,468.65
Office Expense.....	576.31
Supplies.....	404.82
Books.....	1,428.15

Publishing.....	1,676.21	
Binding.....	450.00	
Care of Grounds.....	132.45	
Work on manuscripts.....	10.10	
Extra Service.....	734.08	
		\$14,322.73
ASSETS		\$508,457.46
Real Estate.....	\$189,905.71	
Mortgages.....	15,100.00	
Bonds.....	284,877.00	
Stocks.....	35,596.50	
Bank Deposit.....	2,000.00	
Cash on deposit.....	978.25	
		\$508,457.46
Unexpended Balance October 1, 1918.....		\$5.90
Principal October 1, 1918.....		\$508,451.56

OCT. 1, 1918

CONDITION OF THE FUND ACCOUNTS

Fund Title	Principal	Balance 1917	Income 1918	Expended 1918	Balance
1-Alden.....	\$1,000.00		\$45.00	\$45.00	
2-Bookbinding.....	7,500.00		337.50	337.50	
3-George Chandler.....	500.00	\$.50	22.50	23.00	
4-Collection and Research.	17,000.00		765.00	765.00	
5-I. and E. L. Davis.....	23,000.00		1,035.00	1,035.00	
6-John and Eliza Davis...	4,900.00		220.50	220.50	
7-F. H. Dewey.....	4,800.00	41.50	216.00	256.41	\$1.09
8-G. E. Ellis.....	17,500.00		787.50	787.50	
9-Librarian's and General..	35,000.00		1,575.00	1,575.00	
10-Haven.....	1,500.00	3.02	67.50	67.50	3.02
12-Life Membership.....	3,750.00		168.75	168.75	
13-Lincoln Legacy.....	7,000.00		315.00	315.00	
14-Publishing.....	32,001.91		1,420.00	1,420.00	
17-Salisbury.....	104,348.39		4,693.50	4,693.50	
18-Tenney.....	5,000.00		225.00	225.00	
19-B. F. Thomas.....	1,000.00	0.57	45.00	45.00	0.57
22-Special Gifts.....	497.82		22.50	22.50	
23-F. W. Haven.....	2,000.00		90.00	90.00	
24-Purchasing.....	219.98		90.00	90.00	
25-Chas. F. Washburn....	5,000.00		225.00	225.00	
26-Centennial.....	34,506.58		1,440.57	1,440.57	
27-Eliza D. Dodge.....	3,000.00	11.22	135.00	145.00	1.22
28-Hunnewell.....	5,000.00		215.00	215.00	
29-Jas. Lyman Whitney....	412.20		10.00	10.00	

STATEMENT OF INVESTMENTS
BONDS

NAME	RATE	MATURITY	PAR VAL.	BOOK VAL.
PUBLIC FUNDS:				
Baltimore, Md.....	4	May, 1955	\$15,000	\$15,000.00
Boston, Mass.....	3½	July, 1919	15,000	14,325.00
Cuyahoga County, Ohio....	5	Oct., 1922	3,000	3,151.00
Duluth, Minn.....	4	April, 1936	2,000	1,940.00
Jersey City, N. J.....	4	April, 1928	5,000	4,931.00
Memphis, Tenn.....	4	May, 1933	5,000	4,887.00
Middletown, Conn.....	3½	May, 1925	5,000	4,700.00
New York, N. Y.....	4½	May, 1957	20,000	20,000.00
Omaha, Neb.....	4½	Mar. 1928	15,000	15,000.00
San Francisco, Cal.....	4½	July, 1948	5,000	4,914.00
Waterbury, Conn.....	4	Jan., 1919	10,000	9,600.00
Woonsocket, R. I.....	4	June, 1929	12,000	11,179.00
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.....	5½	Feb., 1919	2,000	1,977.50
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.....	5½	Nov., 1921	1,000	985.00
United States of America...	4¼	May, 1942	3,000	3,000.00
				\$115,589.50
RAILROADS:				
Atchison, Topeka & Sante Fe.....	4	May, 1995	2,000	\$1,540.00
Atchison, Topeka & Sante Fe.....	4	May, 1995	1,000	885.00
Baltimore & Ohio.....	3½	July, 1925	5,000	4,637.00
Boston Elevated.....	4	May, 1935	2,000	2,000.00
Boston Elevated.....	4½	April, 1937	8,000	7,960.00
Boston & Maine.....	3½	Feb., 1925	5,000	4,593.00
Chicago, Burlington & Quincy.....	4	July, 1949	5,000	5,000.00
Chicago & Eastern Illinois..	5	Nov., 1937	4,000	4,000.00
Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul.....	4½	June, 1932	2,000	1,932.50
Chicago, Indiana & Southern.....	4	Jan., 1956	12,000	10,920.00
Chicago & Northwestern...	4	Aug., 1926	1,000	945.00
Fitchburg.....	3½	Oct., 1921	10,000	9,300.00
Illinois Central.....	3½	July, 1952	2,000	2,000.00
Illinois Central.....	5	Dec., 1963	2,000	2,010.00
Lake Shore & Michigan Southern.....	4	May, 1931	5,000	4,621.00
Lowell, Lawrence & Haver- hill.....	5	June, 1923	7,000	6,570.00

Marlboro & Westboro.....	5	July, 1921	1,000	1,000.00
N. Y., N. H. & Hartford....	4	May, 1954	10,000	10,000.00
N. Y., N. H. & Hartford...	3½	Jan., 1956	50	50.00
N. Y., N. H. & Hartford...	6	Jan., 1948	2,200	2,189.00
Old Colony.....	4	Jan., 1938	3,000	2,970.00
Penobscot Shore Line.....	4	Aug., 1920	5,000	4,943.00
Pere Marquette.....	4	July, 1956	5,000	4,500.00
Pere Marquette.....	5	July, 1956	500	500.00
Southern Indiana.....	4	Feb., 1951	2,000	2,000.00
Union Pacific.....	4	July, 1927	500	450.00
Wilkesbarre & Eastern....	5	June, 1942	2,000	2,000.00
Worcester & Webster.....	5	Dec., 1919	2,000	2,000.00

\$101,515.50
MISCELLANEOUS BONDS:

Amer. Tel. & Tel. Co.....	4	July, 1929	11,000	11,000.00
Bethlehem Steel Co.....	5	Jan., 1926	2,000	2,005.00
Business Real Estate Trust.	4	June, 1921	2,000	1,915.00
Congress Hotel Co.....	6	Feb., 1933	5,000	5,000.00
Detroit Edison Co.....	5	July, 1940	5,000	4,800.00
Ellicott Square Co.....	6	Mar., 1935	5,000	5,000.00
Michigan State Tel. Co....	5	Feb., 1924	3,000	2,996.00
Norton Co.....	5	Feb., 1927	3,000	3,000.00
Seattle Electric Co.....	5	Aug., 1929	5,000	5,000.00
Terre Haute Trac. Lt. & Power Co.....	5	May, 1944	2,000	2,000.00
Western Electric Co.....	5	Dec., 1922	5,000	5,056.00

\$47,772.00
Stocks

\$264,877.00

Shares		PAR	BOOK
		VALUE	VALUE
24	American Tel. & Tel. Co.....	\$2,400	\$2,353.50
11	Atchinson, Topeka & Sante Fe R. R. (Pref.)	1,100	687.00
3	Baltimore & Ohio R. R. Co. (Pref.).....	300	210.00
6	Baltimore & Ohio R. R. Co. (Com.).....	600	420.00
6	Fitchburg Bank & Trust Co.....	600	600.00
50	Fitchburg R. R. Co.....	5,000	5,000.00
35	Mass. Gas Light Cos. (Pref.).....	3,500	2,900.00
68	N. Y., N. H. & H. R. R. Co.....	6,800	8,450.00
30	Northern R. R. (N. H.).....	3,000	3,000.00
11	Old South Building Trust (Pref.).....	1,100	981.00
30	Union Pacific R. R. (Com.).....	3,000	3,000.00
16	Webster & Atlas National Bank.....	1,600	1,800.00
25	West End St. Ry. Co. (Pref.).....	1,250	1,250.00
14	Worcester Gas Light Co.....	1,400	2,000.00
31	Worcester Bank & Trust Co.....	3,100	2,945.00

\$35,596.50

MORTGAGE LOANS

J. Burwick.....	\$2,100.00
L. L. Mellen.....	1,500.00
B. F. Sawyer.....	3,500.00
J. P. Sexton, Trustee.....	8,000.00
	<hr/>
	\$15,100.00

BANK DEPOSITS

Deposit in Worcester Bank & Trust Co., Interest Department.....	\$2,000.00
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REAL ESTATE

Library Building with land.....	\$189,905.71
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The undersigned, Auditor of the American Antiquarian Society, begs leave to state that the books and accounts of the Treasurer, for the year ending September 30, 1918, have been examined by Elmer A. MacGowan, Accountant, and his certificate that they are correct is herewith submitted.

The Auditor further reports that he has personally examined the securities held by the Treasurer and finds the same to be as stated by him and the balance of cash on hand duly accounted for.

(Signed) BENJAMIN THOMAS HILL,
October 1, 1918. *Auditor.*

WORCESTER, MASS., October 1, 1918.

I hereby certify that I have examined the books and accounts of the Treasurer of the American Antiquarian Society, made up for the year ending September 30, 1918, and find same to be correct.

(Signed) ELMER A. MACGOWAN,
Accountant.

CONTRIBUTORS OF \$100 AND MORE TO THE SOCIETY'S
INVESTED FUNDS

1832	Isaiah Thomas, Worcester (legacy).....	\$23,152
	Nathaniel Maccarty, Worcester (legacy).....	500
1838	Edward D. Bangs, Worcester (legacy).....	200
1840	William McFarland, Worcester (legacy).....	500
1842	Christopher G. Champlin, Newport, R. I. (legacy).....	100
1852	Stephen Salisbury, Worcester.....	5,000
1856	Stephen Salisbury, Worcester.....	5,000
1858	Nathan Appleton, Boston.....	100
	Isaac Davis, Worcester.....	200
	Edward Everett, Boston.....	100
	George Folsom, Worcester.....	100
	John Green, Worcester.....	100
	James Lenox, New York, N. Y.....	250
	Levi Lincoln, Worcester.....	200
	Charles C. Little, Cambridge.....	100
	Pliny Merrick, Worcester.....	100
	Stephen Salisbury, Worcester.....	3,545
	P. Dexter Tiffany, Worcester.....	200
1867	Stephen Salisbury, Worcester.....	8,000
1868	William Thomas, Boston.....	500
	Benjamin F. Thomas, Boston.....	100
	Isaac Davis, Worcester.....	500
	Levi Lincoln, Worcester (legacy).....	940
1869	Isaac Davis, Worcester.....	100
	Usher D. Parsons, Providence.....	100
	Nathaniel Thayer, Boston.....	500
1870	Isaac Davis, Worcester.....	100
	Ebenezer Torrey, Fitchburg.....	100
1871	Edward L. Davis, Worcester.....	100
1872	Miss Nancy Lincoln, Shrewsbury.....	300
	John P. Bigelow, Boston (legacy).....	1,000
1874	Miss Nancy Lincoln, Shrewsbury (legacy).....	200
	Ebenezer Alden, Randolph.....	100
1875	Isaac Davis, Worcester.....	400
1878	Isaac Davis, Worcester.....	400
1879	Benjamin F. Thomas, Beverly .. (legacy).....	1,000
	Edward L. Davis, Worcester.....	500
1881	Joseph A. Tenney, Worcester (legacy).....	5,000
	Ebenezer Alden, Randolph (legacy).....	1,000
1882	Samuel F. Haven, Worcester (legacy).....	1,000
1883	Robert C. Waterston, Boston	100
1884	George Chandler, Worcester.....	500
	Stephen Salisbury, Worcester (legacy).....	10,000
1885	Stephen Salisbury, Worcester (legacy).....	10,000
1886	Stephen Salisbury, Jr., Worcester.....	5,000

1887	Robert C. Waterston, Boston.....	100
1889	Francis H. Dewey, Worcester (legacy).....	2,000
1891	Edward L. Davis, Worcester.....	5,000
1895	George E. Ellis, Charlestown (legacy).....	10,000
1899	Stephen Salisbury, Jr., Worcester.....	5,000
1900	John C. B. Davis, Washington, D. C.....	1,000
	Horace Davis, San Francisco, Calif.....	1,000
	Andrew McF. Davis, Cambridge.....	1,000
1905	Andrew H. Green, New York, N. Y. (legacy).....	4,840
1907	Stephen Salisbury, Jr., Worcester (legacy).....	60,000
	Charles E. French, Boston (legacy).....	1,000
1908	Stephen Salisbury, Jr., Worcester (legacy).....	175,000
1909	Mrs. Frances W. Haven, Worcester (legacy).....	2,000
1910	Charles G. Washburn, Worcester.....	5,000
	Mrs. Eliza D. Dodge, Worcester (legacy).....	3,000
	James F. Hunnewell, Boston.....	5,000
	Andrew McF. Davis, Cambridge.....	1,000
	Edward L. Davis, Worcester.....	5,000
	Charles H. Davis, Worcester.....	2,000
	Austin P. Cristy, Worcester.....	100
	Henry W. Cunningham, Boston.....	1,000
	Henry A. Marsh, Worcester.....	100
	Simeon E. Baldwin, New Haven, Conn.....	100
	Eugene F. Bliss, Cincinnati, O.....	1,000
	A. George Bullock, Worcester.....	2,000
	William B. Weeden, Providence.....	500
	Charles L. Nichols, Worcester.....	2,500
	Samuel B. Woodward, Worcester.....	1,000
	Samuel Utley, Worcester.....	100
	Waldo Lincoln, Worcester.....	1,000
	Samuel S. Green, Worcester.....	1,000
	James L. Whitney, Cambridge (legacy).....	216
1911	Austin S. Garver, Worcester.....	100
	Francis H. Dewey, Worcester.....	2,500
	Thomas Willing Balch, Philadelphia, Pa.....	100
	William Lawrence, Boston.....	100
	Charles P. Bowditch, Boston.....	100
	Samuel A. Green, Boston.....	150
1912	James P. Baxter, Portland, Me.....	100
	Franklin B. Dexter, New Haven, Conn.....	100
	Justin H. Smith, Boston.....	100
	Lincoln N. Kinnicutt, Worcester.....	200
	Samuel V. Hoffman, New York, N. Y.....	5,000
	Clarence M. Burton, Detroit, Mich.....	100
	Henry H. Edes, Boston.....	250
	Mrs. Deloraine P. Corey, Malden.....	500
1913	Albert H. Whitin, Whitinsville.....	1,000

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1913	Daniel Merriman, Boston (legacy).....	1,000
	Mrs. Deloraine P. Corey, Malden.....	500
	Miss Jane A. Taft, Worcester (legacy).....	1,000
	Miss Katharine Allen, Worcester (legacy).....	4,000
1916	Grenville H. Norcross, Boston.....	200
1917	Horace Davis, San Francisco, Cal. (legacy).....	5,000

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

The number of accessions in 1917-1918 has maintained the average of previous years. The great world-war has had little effect upon the dispersing and the disposal of books. Owners of libraries have continued to die and the exigencies of probate courts have required the marketing of their collections. In fact, the war, with the financial rewards of war work, has stimulated rather than retarded the sale of books, and embryo bibliophiles who only needed sufficient capital to become earnest collectors rushed into competition with wealthy Philistines who regarded books chiefly as intellectual wallpaper. Prices in New York auction rooms last winter ruled higher than ever before. The first edition of Milton's "Comus," which brought \$4,000 at the Huth sale in 1915, went for \$9,200 when sold with the Huntington duplicates last February. Mr. W. H. Hagen's copy of the 1640 Shakespeare's "Poems" brought \$5,010, although nearly everyone thought seven years ago that the Hoe price of \$2,700 was excessive. Another book, John Skelton's "Poems," which was purchased from a prominent dealer a short while ago for \$1,100, brought \$9,700 at this sale. Mr. Hagen's prophecy that his books were worth more than bonds was true, for his library must have sold for three times what he paid for it.

Americana, although showing few titles of commanding value, generally sold for record prices. George Fox's "A New England Firebrand Quenched," 1679, brought \$360, an increase of fifty per cent over the previous high price. William Coddington's "Dem-

onstration of True Love," 1674, fetched the record figure of \$420. A Brooklyn collector, who invested heavily in Americana within the past few years, sold his books last winter for double what he had paid for them. Religious tracts of the Mathers, without any particular historical value, worth perhaps \$25 each a short while ago, sold repeatedly for \$400 and \$500. Money apparently was plentiful and collectors could not wait for desired volumes to turn up at some future sale.

The share of the Antiquarian Society in all this literary spoil was not noticeable, although this fact is due to the foresight of early collectors in providing this Library with most of the American rarities, as well as to our lack of income. It has been in the acquisition of large numbers of comparatively unimportant titles—books and pamphlets which are disregarded by present collectors—that we have made the greatest strides in the past year, as in the past ten years. Nearly five hundred early American titles have been added to our imprint collection, including tracts and discourses, reports of eighteenth century societies, chap-books, examples of pioneer presses, and three additions to our already large collection of New England Primers.

Among the more interesting titles were "The Debates and Proceedings of the Convention of the State of New-York," New York, 1788; Pelatiah Webster's "A Sixth Essay on Free Trade and Finance," Philadelphia, 1783; Humphrey Marshall's "An Address to the People of Kentucky," Philadelphia, 1796; "The Beginning, Progress, and Conclusion of the Late War," with the map, London, 1770; and an anonymous tract "Continued Corruption, Standing Armies, and Popular Discontents Considered," London, 1768, in which the author, William Bolla, attempted to heal the breach between the English colonies and the mother-country. An interesting pamphlet secured is "A Letter to George

Washington, President of the United States," by Jasper Dwight of Vermont, printed at Philadelphia, 1796. In this virulent controversial tract, William Duane, the real author, attacked the character of Washington in a way unfamiliar to modern ears. "Posterity will in vain search for the monuments of wisdom in your administration," Duane asserts, and then continues, "Examining in order to discover the true features of your character, the declarations of your former enemies and present friends will be minutely examined, who assert that your attachment to the revolution was not the result of a love of republican freedom, but of disappointed ambition,—that had you obtained promotion, as you expected, for the services rendered after Braddock's defeat, your sword would have been drawn against your country." He finds "the name of Washington sunk from the elevated rank of the Solons and Lycurguses to the insignificance of a Venetian Doge or a Dutch Stadtholder."

By far the most important gift of the year came from Mrs. Josephine S. Gay of Brookline, the widow of our late member, Frederick Lewis Gay. It was always Mr. Gay's wish that no part of his library should ever be sold, and although he left no specific directions regarding the disposition of his books, it was fairly well understood by his brother, Ernest L. Gay, and his librarian, John H. Edmonds, what libraries should be the gainers as a result of his years of collecting. After the unexpected death of Ernest Gay, the books were presented to the various libraries by Mrs. Frederick L. Gay, according to the following plan: Harvard received the bulk of the collection, including the Civil War and Commonwealth Tracts, and most of the leading books on New England history and colonization; the Massachusetts Historical Society received the works of John Cotton, Thomas Shepard and other early divines, and the Transcripts from English Records; and the American Antiquarian

Society received the newspapers, almanacs, American imprints and many tracts and historical works.

Among the more important titles received by this Library are the following:

- EDWARD JOHNSON, A HISTORY OF NEW ENGLAND, LONDON, 1654.
 A. MONTANUS, *Die Unbekante Neue Welt*, AMSTERDAM, 1673.
 CHARLES MORTON, THE SPIRIT OF MAN, BOSTON, 1693.
 BENJAMIN WADSWORTH, GOOD SOULDIER A GREAT BLESSING, BOSTON, 1700.
 JOHN HALE, A MODEST INQUIRY INTO THE NATURE OF WITCHCRAFT, BOSTON, 1702.
 N. BAYLEY, ENGLISH AND LATINE EXERCISES, BOSTON, 1720.
 JUDAH MONIS, A GRAMMAR OF THE HEBREW TONGUE, BOSTON, 1735.
 AN ACCOUNT OF THE EXPEDITION TO CARTHAGENA, LONDON, 1743.
 BOSTON WEEKLY NEWS-LETTER, 1747.
 A PATENT FOR PLYMOUTH IN NEW ENGLAND, BOSTON, 1751.
 SAMUEL HOPKINS, HISTORICAL MEMOIRS RELATING TO THE HOUSATUNNUCK INDIANS, BOSTON, 1753.
 A CONFESSION OF FAITH IN NEW ENGLAND, NEW LONDON, 1760.
 A DIALOGUE BETWEEN SIR GEORGE CORNWELL AND MR. FLINT, BOSTON, 1769.
 LETTERS TO THE EARL OF HILLSBOROUGH, BOSTON, 1769.
 FRANCIS BERNARD, SELECT LETTERS ON THE TRADE AND GOVERNMENT OF AMERICA, LONDON, 1774.
 THOMAS JEFFERSON, SUMMARY VIEW OF THE RIGHTS OF BRITISH AMERICA, PHILADELPHIA, 1774.
 HENRY CLINTON, OBSERVATIONS ON THE ANSWER OF CORNWALLIS TO CLINTON, LONDON, 1783.
 BOSTON DIRECTORY FOR 1796 AND 1798.
 J. WHITE, NARRATIVE OF EVENTS IN THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR, CHARLESTOWN [1833].
 COTTON TUFTS' MANUSCRIPT DIARY, 1769.
 BELCHER NOTES' MANUSCRIPT DIARY, 1775 AND 1782.
 SET OF THE PELHAM CLUB MEZZOTINTS.

Most of the books in the Gay library were beautifully bound and bear evidence of his care and discrimination. He collected books for the love of them and for historical study, and not for mere possession. Mr. Gay was a keen student of the colonial history of New England, and although he wrote little himself, he aided and initiated a considerable and valuable amount of historical publication. His library was a remarkable collection, noteworthy in that so many of

the fields which it embraced were covered so thoroughly. Perhaps the most important volume that he ever acquired was the Record-book of the Council for New England beginning in 1622, which priceless manuscript he generously presented to the Society in 1912. During the ten years of his membership, he was one of our warmest supporters and most constant benefactors. The Society is glad to have, in the books from his library, a reminder of one who was a patron of all worthy literary undertakings that concerned subjects near to his heart, who was always ready to share his treasures with others, and who was one of the last of the group of old-time collectors who sought rare books with the enthusiasm of the bibliophile rather than to show the power of money.

A summary of the accessions for the year ending October 1, 1918, arranged in the same statistical form as in former Reports, shows that there have been added to the Library 3,089 books, 4,709 pamphlets, and 253 maps, broadsides and miscellaneous items. The newspapers acquired comprise 310 bound volumes, included in the above total of books, and 4200 unbound issues.

A larger number of genealogies than usual have been acquired, 158 titles in all, including most of the family histories of the past two years and many of the scarcer pamphlets and books published by early American genealogists. The rarest title obtained was the Farmer Genealogy, by John Farmer, Concord, 1813, one of the earliest known American genealogies.

Among the miscellaneous items noted in the year's accessions are a manuscript plan of the town of Barre, 1739, the gift of William A. Emerson, and the Manuscript diaries of Nahum Jones, covering the years 1795-1806, with a few preliminary entries of 1775-1786. Nahum Jones was a schoolmaster, who kept school at Rindge, N. H., Montgomery County and Herkimer County, N. Y., and Gerry (Phillipston), Winchendon, and Provincetown, Mass. He was an

observant man, and his diaries, especially those which relate to upper New York State, contain considerable local history. He kept a complete register of the names of all his scholars, showing that during ten years of teaching he taught 1456 scholars. These diaries were presented by Clara A. Jones, of Warwick, Mass.

The bookplate collection has received many additions during the year, chiefly through the activity of Rev. Herbert E. Lombard, although a remarkable lot of early American plates was received through exchange with William E. Baillie, of Bridgeport. The collection has finally been arranged and every plate is mounted on a card and immediately accessible. In the April number of the "Bookplate Quarterly," Mr. Lombard wrote an article on the Antiquarian Society's collection, which is so descriptive and concise, that it is herewith reprinted as part of this Report:

It may be said that, in a certain sense, the bookplate collection of the American Antiquarian Society began with the formation of the Society in 1812, for since then there have been in its stacks plates by Paul Revere, both signed and unsigned, together with other equally interesting early Americana. No systematic attention, however, was paid to bookplates till quite recently, when a member of the Society presented his collection, which, though composed largely of the work of modern engravers, contained many choice specimens from the earlier years.

"Since the receipt of this gift the collection has grown rapidly by purchase, gift and exchange. This is easily understood when it is remembered that some seventy-five plates by E. D. French, J. W. Spenceley, and S. L. Smith are owned or controlled, at least partially, by members of the American Antiquarian Society. Engravers have fully co-operated, that their work might be preserved in a great national library—the only one making a particular effort to secure a complete collection. Owners of coppers who are inaccessible to the commercial collector have responded almost without exception.

The purchase of the famous Terry collection increased the holdings of early American plates. This purchase also gave many duplicates valuable for exchange. The collection has

been further increased through the generous bequest of Mr. Nathaniel Paine, for years a councillor and constant benefactor of the Society. Mr. Paine was a collector of Americana in many lines, a member of the earlier and greatly lamented American Bookplate Society, and also of the Ex-Libris Society.

The collection is strongest in plates and labels of the United States, probably exceeding any other institutional collection in this line. The widest interpretation has been given to the word 'American' so as to include plates made by foreign artists for American patrons, thus making room for a few plates by Barrett, Downey, Eve, Sherborn, and Von Bayros.

Till this year no attempt has been made to secure other than United States plates. As a result, the Canadian collection is most inadequate, while the West Indian and South American collections are hardly worth mentioning. This condition has begun to improve in the Canadian field, as the result of the sympathetic attitude of several Canadian artists. Negotiations are now being carried on which, it is hoped, will open up the interesting field of Mexican plates as well.

In early Americana the most interesting examples are the seventeenth century dated labels. Of the eight thus far located the American Antiquarian Society has six, as follows: William Brattle (1677), Edward Thompson (1680), John Hancock (1687), Samuel Thompson (1688), John Hancock (1689), and Nicholas Lynde (1690). William Brattle was graduated from Harvard in 1680. This copy of his book-label is the only known impression of what is believed to be the earliest dated American plate.

Unlike Harvard and many of the other early foundations, the American Antiquarian Society had no appropriate plate or label for many years. In fact, its earlier labels are so poor that they have long been refused to collectors, in the hope that even their memory might perish. Isaiah Thomas, the founder and first president of the Society, had two plates by Revere, though unsigned. The second plate is the one familiar to collectors. The earlier Isaiah Thomas plate has been hitherto unnoticed by bookplate collectors. It follows Revere's Gardner Chandler plate, so far as concerns the mantling, the ribbon and the number space, with literal exactness. The name Isaiah Thomas underneath is engraved in lower case lettering so crude as to cheapen the plate.

Thomas must have disliked either the lettering or the thought of having his bookplate so closely resemble the Chandler arms, for he soon had another plate engraved, which is also in Revere's characteristic style, although much better than the first attempt. Incidentally, it may be well to note that it is the earlier plate by Revere that S. L. Smith has so

faithfully reproduced for Isaac Rand Thomas. While in the South, Isaiah Thomas used the label, "Isaiah Thomas, Charleston, S. C., July 8, 1769," of which the society has one of the only two copies located.

Passing without note a series of plates and labels used by the Society, we come to the famous double portrait plate made in 1905 by Wilcox, who also engraved the Widener plate at Harvard. This plate has been criticized, and probably justly, as "Eastlake," yet it is a dignified piece of work, in thought and execution not unworthy of a great learned society. Members of the Bookplate Society will be glad to know that S. L. Smith is at present at work on a plate for the Antiquarian Society.

All of Revere's plates are in the collection of the Society, except his own personal plate, of which but two copies are known. In earlier years the New England colleges had many good plates. The Society has practically complete collections of the plates of Harvard, Yale, and Dartmouth, along with many others of the older foundations.

Of the early American plates listed in Allen's "American Bookplates," the Society has about two-thirds. Among those less known are: No. 47, Baldwin; 65, Sam'l Bayard; 73, Belcher; 159, Child; 166, Clark; 225, Dolbeare; 234, Duer; 305, Gibbs; 325, Greene; 380, Hill; 428, Jeffry; 436, Johnston; 460, Kinlock; 511, Logan; 533, McComb; 565, Masterton; 581, Minturn; 605, Newberry; 631, James Otis, Jr.; 681, Pierpont; 692, Powell; 716 and 717, Randolph; 744 Ruff; 763, Schuyler; 782, Silvester; and 882, Van Rensselaer.

This would seem to the uninitiated to be a list of mere names just as to them the "Rose" or "William Dummer" would be only a name; but there are also the plates of presidents, governors, judges, and diplomats; of "signers"; of men who achieved and those who wrote of their achievements; of masters of finance and captains of industry; of historians, poets, and artists; of preachers, physicians, and lawyers. The story these old bookplates recall is the story of the nation's birth and progress.

While the specialty of the American Antiquarian Society is, of course, early American plates, it has complete sub-collections, or nearly so, of the work of French, Spenceley, Smith, Hopson, Macdonald, Bird, Mielatz, Cole, Thompson, Clark, Cheney, Garrett, Noll, Harrod, Alexander, and Azeant. In most instances the modern plate is either a print or a signed proof, but many times it is shown in both forms, while an occasional artist's drawing, or even the copper plate itself, adds increased interest. The Society has held two exhibitions, one of early American plates, the other of the bookplates of

S. L. Smith. In addition to all available literature, bookplate correspondence is preserved for future reference.

In recapitulation, the collection of the American Antiquarian Society is naturally strongest in United States plates and labels, containing some fifteen thousand, including a great many interesting early Americana. Of the early American plates and labels listed by Allen it has two-thirds. It has also the earliest known dated American label, that of William Brattle (1677). Of the eight known dated seventeenth century labels, it has six, each being a unique impression. There are about a thousand Canadian plates, and also a few plates from Mexico, South America, and the West Indies. The Society requests the co-operation of members of the Bookplate Society in its attempt to build up a permanent collection that shall be of value to artists and antiquarians in years to come."

The collection of American newspapers has received numerous additions, totalling 310 bound volumes and 4,200 unbound issues. It is in this department more than any other that the need for greater space is felt. The newspaper stack, built to accommodate the accessions of fifteen years, is now full after five years of unlooked for acquisitions. Five years ago it would have scarcely been thought possible that so many long files could have been located, much less obtained, but the preparation of a newspaper bibliography of the several States has taken the compiler thereof into many out-of-the-way places and revealed many unexpected stores. How to shelve the papers is now a problem. The arrival of even a dozen of these great folio volumes in the stack requires a reshifting often of hundreds of other volumes, so that the alphabetical order by States may be maintained. But the non-elasticity of steel is generally more than a match for the ingenuity of the library staff. A temporary solution of the difficulty is to take certain long files which are less likely to be used and store them in a room in the basement. This expedient may suffice for about two years, and then we shall have to take up seriously the enlargement of the stack, costing perhaps \$50,000, or stop the growth of the newspaper

beginnings of printing on the island. Nor is there any other reference to the subject except that which is given by Thomas.

It seems strange that no copy of the *Antigua Gazette*, during Mecom's editorship, has been hitherto located in any library. The issue obtained by the Society is entitled "*The Antigua Gazette*," April 12, 1755, no. 130, printed by Benjamin Mecom, at the Old Printing-Office on Kerby's Wharff, in St. John's. If the numbering was regular, this would show that the paper was started by Mecom about the first of November, 1752.

Additional light is thrown on the matter by a letter from Benjamin Franklin, his uncle, to Mecom's parents, Edward and Jane Mecom, November 14, 1752. Franklin evidently backed Mecom in the printing venture. He says, "Benny sailed from hence this day two weeks, and left our Capes the Sunday following. They are seldom above three weeks on the voyage to Antigua. That island is reckoned one of the healthiest in the West Indies. My late partner there enjoyed perfect health for four years, till he grew careless, and got to sitting up late in taverns, which I have cautioned Benny to avoid, and have given him all other necessary advice I could think of, relating both to his health and conduct, and I hope for the best. He will find the business settled to his hand: a newspaper established, no other printing-house to interfere with him, or beat down his prices, which are much higher than we get on the continent. He has the place on the same terms with his predecessor, who, I understand, cleared from five to six hundred pistoles during the four years he lived there. I have recommended him to some gentlemen of note for their patronage and advice."

Writing again to Jane Mecom, February 12, 1765, Franklin says: "Benny, I understand, inclines to leave Antigua." On June 28, 1756, Franklin again writes Jane Mecom giving her the reasons for his

nephew's removal and stating: "When I set him up at Antigua, he was to have the use of the printing-house on the same terms as his predecessor, Mr. Smith; that is, allowing me one-third part of the profits." The letter refers to Mr. Smith's "decease" and gives many details of Mecom's business arrangements with Franklin, and was followed by a letter of December 30, 1756, congratulating his sister on the safe return from the West Indies of her son. Franklin says: "He has also cleared the old printing-house to himself, and sent it to Boston, where he purposes to set up his business."

The identity of Mr. Smith is established by the imprint of a pamphlet only recently discovered and now for sale by a Boston book-dealer, "Occasional Poems," Antigua, printed by T. Smith, for the author [William Shervington], 1749.

The copy of "The Antigua Gazette," obtained by the Antiquarian Society, is made additionally interesting by the fact that it was owned by Benjamin Franklin and has his name, written presumably in Mecom's hand, on the first page.

The war seems to have brought about a slight decrease in the use of the library, although this refers to the number of visitors rather than to the amount of correspondence. We have had far fewer university graduates working on doctoral dissertations and also fewer students from the various New England colleges. In every recent year at least half a dozen researchers, generally from the Western States, passed a portion of the summer vacation period in Worcester, engaged in studying historical records, but this has somewhat diminished. Correspondence, however, has increased. The curtailment of travel seems to have caused querists to rely more upon the mail for answer to their problems. The ordinary genealogical questions we do not attempt to look up, turning them over to professional genealogists, but historical queries which can be answered only from records in this Library we

deem it our duty to investigate, even at the expense of considerable time. A query from a historian in Minnesota which involved the exact reading of a single page of a seventeenth century manuscript required over four hours to obtain a correct transcript of the document. To assist a United States Senator who was preparing the biography of a national character we gave half a day's research in files of newspapers available nowhere else but at this library. The queries concern all sorts of subjects—the history of early manufactures at Pittsburgh, steamboating on the Mississippi, newspaper allusions to the North-eastern Boundary dispute, the paintings of John Greenwood, when did Esek Hopkins take command of the American navy, how many copies exist of Revere's View of Harvard College, who is the best authority on the Island of Nevis, where was Blackburn the painter born, what was the first American edition of Shakespeare, are but a few of recent examples which come to mind.

The war, too, has brought its queries—what would be the best books on American history for a camp library, what is the leading Greek newspaper for the numerous Greeks who are training for the national army; what paper in South America best covers the war. The correspondence arising from the attempt to provide a proper nomenclature for American naval vessels grew to considerable proportions and in at least two instances the newspaper files have been used by secret service agents in search of certain information.

Not until the United States entered the war did this Library attempt to gather material illustrating the world struggle. Our precedent of not preserving the literature of foreign countries, but restricting our energies to the gathering of material relating to America, seemed the proper course to follow. Moreover, the Clark University Library was amassing a collection relating to these foreign aspects of the war, which was second to none in the country.

Since April, 1917, however, the Society has endeavored to acquire every book, pamphlet and document it could obtain which concerned this country's part in the conflict, and not without some success. Not only will its newspaper files prove of value for the future study of the subject, but its collection of camp newspapers, covering the activities of thirty-four camps throughout the country, would be difficult to duplicate. Most of these camp papers have been given to the Library by Mr. Charles H. Taylor, Jr., of Boston, who has also sent us a large amount of the pamphlet literature of the war. Mr. Taylor has an unusual opportunity to obtain such material and his aid is hereby acknowledged as one of our greatest sources of help. Most of the members of this Society are in touch with public affairs, or receive some of the literature of the war, such as patriotic speeches, controversial tracts, pamphlet appeals for war charities, trench newspapers or even important manuscript material. Will they not send it to the library of the Society, where it will be properly arranged and classified to be of service to the historian who a generation or two hence will approach with impartial mind the study of the greatest conflict the world has ever known.

Respectfully submitted,

CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM,

Librarian.

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Figure 1
 "The white banks and cliffs which lie towards the sea." These white banks lie Drake to call the locality Nova Albion. The photograph was made from the deck of a vessel, drawing about the same depth of water as the *Golden Hind*, and anchored near the supposed anchorage of Drake in June 1579. The original negative was destroyed in the earthquake and fire of April 18, 1906.



Figure 2
 One of the Farallon Rocks which Drake probably rounded on July 24, 1579.

NOVA ALBION—1579

BY ALEXANDER G. MC ADIE

PREFATORY NOTE

It was my good fortune to know well the late Professor George Davidson, a high official of the Coast and Geodetic Survey, and for many years Professor of Geography in the University of California.

While in command of the Survey brig *Fauntleroy*, he began the preparation of the Coast Pilot; and followed with much detail the voyages of early explorers. To Cook and Vancouver he gave special attention and indeed verified their positions. Nor did he withhold his admiration for the indomitable courage and perseverance of the early Spanish navigators. His paper covering the period from 1539 to 1603 is a classic.¹

In addition to Cook and Vancouver, there was another son of Albion who came a-roving to the Pacific coast when Spain was at the zenith of her power. He cast anchor in an open roadstead thirty miles west northwest of where the greatest city of the West Coast lies "serene, indifferent to Fate."

As a citizen of this metropolis it was natural that George Davidson should become intensely interested in the identification of the anchorage made by Francis Drake in 1570. He proved, I think, beyond question that

1. Drake did not reach the latitude of 48 degrees north, as claimed by many English writers and repeated in the last edition of the *Britannica*;

2. The most northern latitude reached by Drake was 43 degrees;

3. The *Golden Hinde* never sailed into the Bay of San Francisco, nor did Drake see the entrance to the Bay nor surmise that such a body of water existed in the vicinity of his anchorage. School textbooks are prone to state that Drake discovered the Bay.

4. In all probability, Drake cast anchor under the lee of Point Reyes; and this is the locality which he named Nova Albion, or New England, from a fancied resemblance of the white cliffs to those of his native shire.

¹U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, Appendix No. 7. An Examination of some of the Early Voyages of Discovery and Exploration on the Northwest Coast of America from 1539 to 1603. Also Francis Drake on the Northwest Coast of America, Trans. Geog. Soc. of the Pacific, Vol. V, Series II, 1908.

In company with Professor Davidson and on many a lonely trip I have tried to follow Drake as he approached this anchorage; and in this paper bring forward and as evidence the conditions of the winds, the fogs, the landfalls as affected by the fogs; for all these must be much the same as in 1579.

When Drake and his men got back to Plymouth, they found that they had lost a day, even as Magellan had. According to their reckoning it was Sunday when they arrived, whereas those who had stayed at home, said it was Monday. It was suggested that perhaps the different climates which they had experienced caused the discrepancy. Now climate, which is the summed-up weather of a locality, has been held responsible for many sins of omission and commission, but to make the weather responsible for the loss of a day in the circumnavigation of the globe from east to west is calculated to arouse the ire of the most placid aerographer.

It is however undeniable that weather was responsible both directly and indirectly for many of the episodes of the voyage. Certainly it played an important part in determining the courses; and it may therefore be well worth while to examine critically the weather conditions as recorded, in the light of our modern knowledge of the fogs, winds, currents and temperatures along the coast of California. If we can prove the constancy of certain climatic factors, we may use these to great advantage in interpreting the narrative of the voyage. Indeed, they become extremely valuable evidence in identifying the courses and the various anchorages. It is therefore from the standpoint of the aerographer rather than historian that the writer approaches this subject.

First, we must prove the constancy of the great air currents; the fog formations and other characteristic physical features of the air circulation in these parts. Let us begin with the winds.

The winds have long been used as fitting symbol for things inconstant. Yet in many localities the wind



FIGURE 3. The Southeast Farallon which Drake named the Islands of St. James on July 24, 1579. He sent a boat's crew ashore to obtain seal meat. Landing is not an easy matter and there is only one point where the crew, if on the west side, could have landed. This is near the flag pole near the center of the photograph.



FIGURE 4
Relief map of California. A indicates Drake's anchorage B indicates San Francisco.

systems are more to be relied upon in running a course than the compass readings. I give below a note on the courses of the *Paramour Pink* under Edmund Halley and the non-magnetic ships of the Carnegie Institution.² I have no doubt that a course could be sailed today along the coast of California following the wind directions as given in "The World Encompassed" which would be much nearer the one taken by Drake than if we attempted to use the compass bearings.

The log or daily journal of this voyage has never been published, and perhaps was not kept. The instrument used for determining latitude was probably not reliable within a degree, and positions in longitude are guesses. We know that on April 16, 1579, Drake left Guatulco. The narrative based upon the notes made by Francis Fletcher says:

"setting our course directly into the sea, whereon we sayled 500 leagues in longitude, to get a winde; and betweene that and June 3, 1400 leagues in all, till we came into 42 deg. of North latitude, where in the night following we found such alternation of heat into extreame and nipping cold, that our men in generall did grievously complaine thereof, some of them feeling their healths much impaired thereby, neither was it that this chanced in the night alone, but the day following carried with it not onely the marks but the stings and force of the night going before to the great admiration of us all; for besides that the pinching and biting air was nothing altered, the very roapes of our ship were stiffe, and the raine which fell was an unnatural congealed and frozen substance so that we seemed rather to be in the frozen Zone than in any way neere unto the sun or these hotter climates ... though seamen lack not good stomachs yet it seemed a question to many amongst us whether their hands should feed their mouthes, or rather keep themselves within their couverts from the

²Doctor Bauer in charge of the magnetic work of the Carnegie Institution, in the fourth Halley Lecture, delivered at Oxford, May 22, 1913, says: "Two sailing ships cruising in the Atlantic Ocean from port to port, the one in 1700 and the other in 1910, were forced by the prevailing winds to follow very closely identical courses. If however these two vessels had been directed to follow certain definite magnetic courses and if we may suppose that they had such motive power as to render them independent of the winds, then their respective paths would have diverged considerably ... In brief while the sailing directions as governed by the winds over the Atlantic are the same now as they were during Halley's time the magnetic directions or bearings of the compass that a vessel must follow to reach a given port have greatly altered."

pinching cold that did benumme them ... The 5 day of June we were forced by contrary winds to runne in with the shoare which we then first descried and to cast anchor in a bad bay, the best roade which we could for the present meete with where we were not without some danger by many of the extreame gusts and flawes that beate upon us, whic if they ceased and were still at any time, immediately upon their intermission there followed most vile, thick and stinking fogges, against which the sun prevailed nothing till the gusts again removed them which brought with them such extremity and violence when they came that there was no dealing or resisting against them."

"In 38 deg. 30 minutes we fell in with a convenient and fit harborough ... In this bay we ankered the seventeenth of June, ... Our Generall called this country Nova Albion and that for two causes; the one in respect of the white banks and cliffes which ly towards the sea ... th other that it might haue some affinite euen in name also with our own countrie which was sometime so called."

The World Encompassed

by Sir Francis Drake, nephew of the navigator,
London 1682, p. 132.

Professor Davidson has identified Chetko Cove as the place of this first anchorage.

"In this place was no abiding for us and the winds directly bent against us, having once gotten under sayle againe commanded us to the southward whether we would or no."

It is here that mention of 48 degrees is made; but it would seem plain from the context that 43 was intended. There has been much argument over this. An error may have been made in the original entry or in the transcription. Certainly the figure 3 as generally written is not unlike an 8. It must be remembered too, that in any narrative compiled after the cruise the fact that the party remained for a period of 37 days in a locality whose latitude was 38 N. might have led to a slip of this character. Wherever the figure is written out, it is "fortie-three degrees toward the pole Articke."

A good reason for discrediting 48 is the time, 11 days, required to make the distance, for they hove to each night and probably did not average 50 nautical

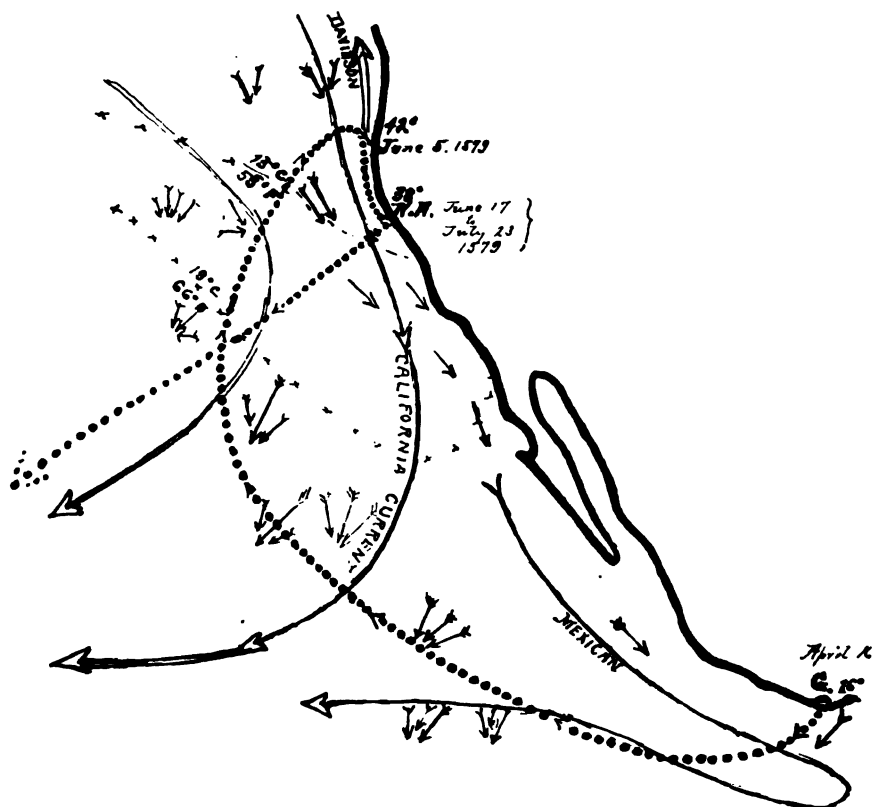


FIGURE 5

Drake's probable course and the prevailing winds, ocean currents, and air temperatures for June off the California Coast.

miles a day. Furthermore they were in the Davidson current, an inshore eddy return current which would carry them north. The *Golden Hinde* was somewhere between 100 and 120 tons burden and drew about 13 feet of water. There was not much spread of canvas and she was a poor traveller because her bottom was foul from long stay in southern waters, also she was heavily laden with stolen silver, had a crew of 60 souls, carried cannon and cannon balls and above all was leaking. The narrative says that they diligently searched the shore. Had they made 48 and diligently searched the shore, they could hardly have passed unnoticed Cape Flattery and the Straits of Fuca. And farther south, Gray's Harbor, Shoalwater Bay, Cape Disappointment and the mouth of the Columbia River.

It must be remembered that the prime object of all this northing was to discover the big river or passage through which they could sail from the South Sea into their "owne" ocean, the Atlantic. They dared not go south and retrace their course, for they feared the Spaniard now on the alert. To have found this short way home, to have outwitted the greatest seapower of the day, to have discovered and traversed the Anian Arcticus, why this would have eclipsed the glory of all previous explorers!

This conclusion is strengthened if we recall that some thirteen years later, the Greek pilot Apostolos Valerianos, or to give him his sailor name, Juan de Fuca, claimed that he did pick up the entrance to the Strait and actually entered it. There are many romantic incidents connected with early Spanish exploration of the Pacific coast; but it is doubtful if any surpasses the adventure of this sixteenth century Ulysses. Captain George Vancouver, entering the passage two centuries later, did well to name it after the old pilot.

Drake and his men then, according to the best evidence, turned southward, somewhere near the

43d parallel. The latitude was determined with an astrolabe and there was a probable error of a whole degree, perhaps even more in the reading. As they sailed south within sight of land, after leaving Chetko Bay, they saw or thought they saw *snow covered* hills. There are no peaks visible from the sea high enough to have a snow line at this time of the year, and there is no special evidence of an abnormal season. Drake's men made the not unnatural error of thinking that the dense white fog on the hilltops was snow. It is a common occurrence today for tourists on coasting vessels to call attention to what they think is snow on the mountains. It may be said that seamen like the crew of the *Golden Hinde* who had gone half-way round the world would surely recognize fog; but the fog formations in this section differ greatly from sea fogs elsewhere. In several technical papers, the writer has discussed the fogs of the Pacific Coast³.

Still working southward the little company worn out with the fierce and biting northwest wind, rounded the headland which we now know as Point Reyes, named by Vizcaino, on Epiphany day, twenty-four years later, *la punta de los tres Reyes*, after the three wise men.

The locality then in which we would place the anchorage is what is now quite appropriately known as Drake's Bay. On June 17, 1579, he landed and took possession in the name of his sovereign Elizabeth. After making proper military disposition of his force, which included the landing of the cannon, Drake hauled the *Golden Hinde* ashore, careened ship and then cleaned and caulked her bottom. Completing this he launched her again and took aboard supplies of fresh water and wood. He sailed thence on July 23 after a stay of thirty-seven days. He passed the North Farallon and farther south the Southeast Farallon, which he called the Islands of St. James.

³The Rainfall of California, Univ. of Cal. Publications, 1913.

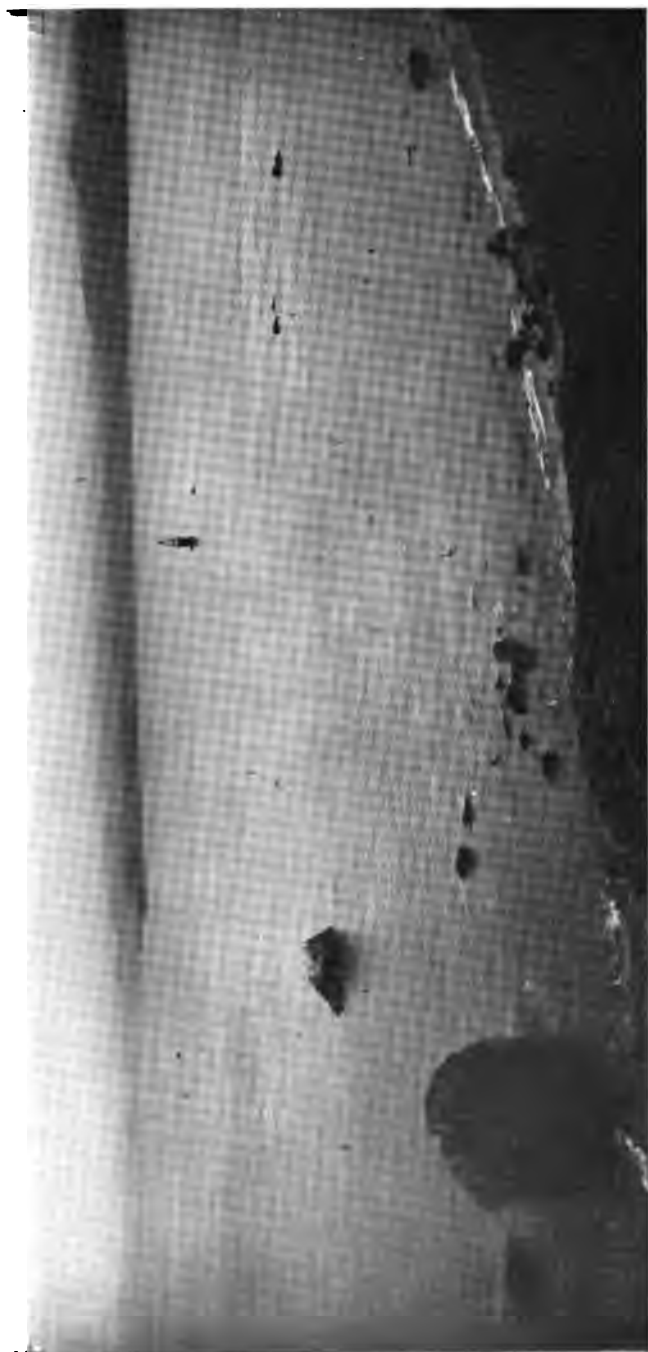


FIGURE 6. Entrance to San Francisco Bay—made with telephoto lens to show the whitish appearance of the fog, which Drake's crew mistook for snow.

Both of these are shown in the accompanying photographs.

In the photograph herewith may be seen the white cliffs referred to. Along the whole section of the coast there is nothing which resembles the description other than these. They lie towards the sea, facing south and in plain view of the natural anchorage after rounding the headland of Point Reyes and getting out of the stiff northwest wind and into quiet water. Furthermore from this anchorage one can make the North Farallon in about four hours and the Southeast Farallon in three hours more; and this is just what Drake did. The *Golden Hinde*, after cleaning and caulking could make with the northwest wind about four nautical miles in an hour. Sailing southwest on what is now called 225 degrees, and making the Farallon rocks, Drake passed by the entrance to the Bay of San Francisco about twenty miles out. He would not discern the entrance. One must go over the course to fully appreciate the conditions. The writer has done this many times and tried to pick up the entrance, and especially at the time of the year when Drake was there. Knowing exactly the location of the Golden Gate, he was never able to pick it up with the unaided eye. The landfall is deceptive and seems like a continuous horizon line. The crest of Tamalpais, the Sausalito hills, Angel Island, Alcatraz and the Berkeley Hills with Diablo in the background blend into one sky line.

Furthermore, in the summer months there is a valid reason why the entrance can not be seen, even when one is only a few miles outside. This is the fog which comes in with the regularity of clockwork on summer afternoons. I have described the character of this fog in several papers.⁴ It is not necessary to go into details here but it may be said that even if Drake had been close to the entrance he probably would have

⁴Bulletin I. Climatology of California, U. S. Weather Bureau, 1903; The Clouds and Fogs of San Francisco, 1912.

missed it. About the only time when the entrance can be picked up from outside is in winter after a southeaster, when the visibility is remarkably good.⁵

Drake left his anchorage on July 23 (old style) having remained 37 days. He passed the North Farallon rock and some hours later the Southeast Farallon sending a boat's crew ashore to get seal meat. The seals (or rather their descendants) are still there; and a little cove just under the big pinnacle rock known as Maintop is the spot where I think the crew must have landed, as it is the only place where a landing could be safely made from a small boat even in a smooth sea, and the sea is seldom smooth. Drake called these rocks "The Islands of St. James" and from here steered boldly west by south on the longest leg of his journey round the world. He knew that in time he would reach the Ladrões, the Philippines and Moluccas; and passing round the Cape of Good Hope come into the Atlantic. He had captured some Spanish "sea cards" from Don Francisco Xarate; and in fact was following the return route of the galleons to Spain. These charts also gave the Pacific Coast north as far as 43 degrees, a matter which must not be overlooked. Of course the possession of these cards robs the voyage of much of its glory. It is interesting to note that certain English historians, "sing small," as the Scotch say, about these cards. The very name, California, was on the charts previous to Drake's visit. [I may digress for a moment to refer to the fact not generally known that a former member of this Society, Dr. Edward Everett Hale, has credit for discovering the origin of the word California.⁶ But I regret to add that the good Doctor inclined to the belief that Drake anchored in San Francisco Bay.]

⁵One peculiarity of the fog in summer months is the clear zone from sea-level to a height of about 30 metres. At such times the seaman does not clearly realise the true conditions. The upper level of the fog is about 500 metres (1640 feet) and when viewed from a distance resembles a white blanket. The temperature at sea level in June is approximately 11 C. (55 F.) while at the top of the fog it is 27 C. (81 F.) or very much warmer and this means a heavy water vapor content and a density that results in the whitish aspect.

⁶Proc. Am. Antiquarian Soc., April, 1882.

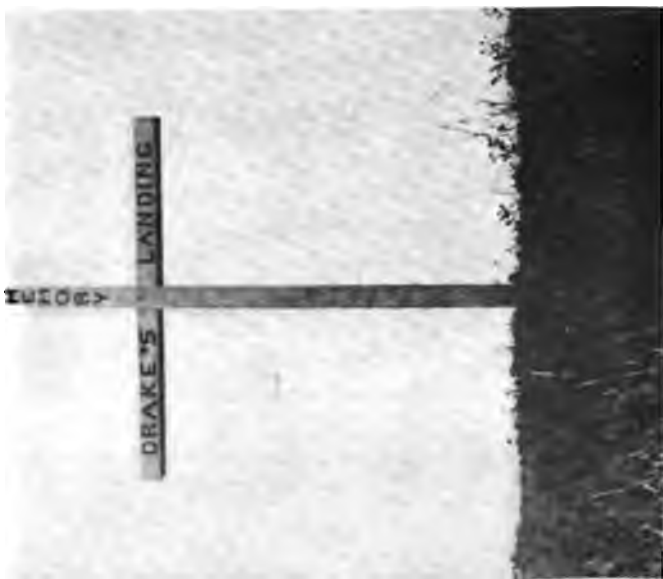


FIGURE 7. Wooden Cross erected by Bishop Nichols on the supposed site of Drake's landing. The cross is about three feet high.



FIGURE 8. Stone Cross about forty feet high, erected in Golden Gate Park, San Francisco, and known as the Prayer-Book Cross in commemoration of the first use of the Book of Common Prayer in our Country by Drake, 1579. The gift of Mr. George Washington Childs.

It now remains for us to attempt to fix the location of the Portus Novae Albion by a closer study of the weather conditions for that period of the year when Drake was there. This is the more necessary since the anchorage has been challenged on the ground of climatic conditions.

In the Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. XV, p. 431, under the heading Sir Francis Drake it is stated:

"The one doubtful point is the account of the climate, which is described with much detail as excessively cold and foggy, (Vaux, pp. 133-118). This is now said to be an exaggeration; but to speak of the climate near San Francisco or anywhere on that coast in July in these terms is not exaggeration but a positive and evidently wilful falsehood credulously inserted by the original compiler of 'The World Encompassed'."

On the contrary the description fits the facts. In 1902 I made an abstract of the weather records at Point Reyes for the 37 days corresponding to those spent by Drake under the lee of this headland.⁷ It is plain that the fog and wind conditions are remarkable and in accord with the experience of Drake's party. Professor Davidson surveying there in 1859 noted in his journal that the fog hung over the promontory of Point Reyes for 39 consecutive days and nights. The sun was invisible for the first nine days and on shore it was visible only at mid-day for the next thirty days.⁸ How well that description tallies with the narrative where it says "neither could we at any time in the whole fourteen days together find the aire so clear to be able to take the height of sunne or starre."

We give on a Meteorological Chart of the North Pacific for June the probable course of the *Golden*

⁷Taking a five year period or 185 days in all, there were 97 days of fog. With regard to wind we note that on May 18, 1902 the average velocity was 32 metres per second (72 miles an hour). For a given day the average velocity was 35 metres per second. The greatest wind for one hour was 184 kilometres (102 miles) while in a period of seventy-two hours the wind blew 7565 kilometres or 4701 miles, that is, it would go around the world in sixteen days if continuous. I had personal experience of these high winds in different years both afloat and ashore.

⁸Coast Pilot, 1889, p. 232.

Hinde. Appended are copies of the map of Hondius, 1595, in the British Museum, and the Port of New Albion, both taken from Davidson's earlier paper on the Identification of Drake's Anchorage, read before the California Historical Society in May, 1891.

THE WORSHIP OF GREAT-GRANDFATHER

BY ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

Sage is the advice to young people to begin life by providing themselves with ancestors reputable, and if possible distinguished. It is highly convenient in communities like ours, which not only know their own great-grandfathers, but on equal terms recognize the great-grandfathers of their neighbors; or in case of extreme need recognize that some of the neighbors may be admitted to intimacy who have never had great-grandfathers.

We are not all so fortunate in that respect as the Chinese gentleman, one of the literati, whom excellent Bishop Roots visited a few years ago. His ceremonious host found common ground in an ancestor, who though not a Roots nor a bishop, was a Christian, being in fact presumably that veritable Duke Koh Tszi who recorded himself upon the famous Nestorian Stone as a magistrate in the year A. D. 781. He not only protected Christians, but was himself a member of their sect, which had been transplanted from farthest west to farthest east of Asia. The visitor expressed pleasure and amazement in this relationship, whereupon the Chinese brought from another apartment his genealogical record in volumes sufficient to make a monument as high as a table, and was able to prove on the spot that his Christian ancestor was after all a *novus homo* inasmuch as the family record went back a little matter of two thousand seven hundred years.

Less than twenty-seven centuries is enough to arouse the pride of most Americans. I should be

gratified if I could count among my forebears Reverend Thomas Thacher, son of the Rector of St. Edmunds, Salisbury, and Reverend Peter Thacher the elder (Harvard, 1671), and Reverend Peter Thacher the younger (1706), together with John Oxenbridge, and Reverend John Prince of Boston, and Reverend Ralph Partridge of Duxbury, known to history for his trial for ill-using a slave woman, and Reverend Nils Hornell, sometime preacher at the Old Swedes Church at Philadelphia, and Stephen Hart, freeman of Massachusetts Bay Colony, and one of the founders of Connecticut, and Bushnells beyond computation, to say nothing of close relationship with John Hart, first graduate of Yale College.

Yet even if I could brag with the best of them as to qualifications for membership in the various organizations of Sons of the Past, I should forbear in these quarters, where colonial quarterings are so plenty; and why should any man exhibit his great-grandfather in a political community where even quite recent arrivals share in the privileges of voters, and their children go to Harvard College, and their grandchildren are in the army, and their great-grandchildren will be put up for the Somerset Club?

Not for indulgence in such pride of inheritance am I here today, but rather to sound a note of warning against a too indiscriminate and partial admiration for our ancestors; or rather to point out how inadequate, how incomplete, is a worship of the past in which we place our ancestors upon frosty pedestals content to observe their virtues rather than to repeat them. Nor shall the theme be wholly of the Colonials whom Isaiah Thomas and the Greens and the Bancrofts and the Lincolns had in mind when this worshipful society was founded. For we are not altogether sons of our fathers and mothers in the direct line; our ancestors are all those who were forerunners of our civilization, contributors to our religious beliefs, our language, our literature, our philosophy, our art, our

military system, our law, our international relations, our morals, and our standards. Out of the many strands that have combined to make up the great cable which holds us suspended from a viewless past, there are five which we particularly acknowledge, cherish and yet incompletely understand. In our church we are descendants of Israel; in our art and literature of Greece; in our statecraft of Rome; in our governmental traditions of the Teutons; in immediate race, traditions and ways of doing things, of our immediate Anglo-Saxon-American forefathers. How far do we really revere and follow any or all of these lines of intellectual ancestry?

I. ISRAEL

All adherents of the Christian faith, whether Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic or Protestant, have borrowed much of their theology, and some of their formal observances from that tough and passionate Jewish race which was thrown out of its own land centuries ago. It has all that time incurred the hostility of those Christians who drew upon it for sacred books, religious principles, and even the holy places of Christianity.

Asia, during the last few centuries has bowed the knee to western armies and western administrators; but Asia has notwithstanding conquered a large part of the world with its religions. Where are those western Druids, those Gods of the Walhalla? Where are the marble divinities whose shrines were once manifold in the groves and the headlands of Greece? Where the Roman Emperor-Gods so majestic, so scornful? Where the idols of the Arabs, and the king-gods of Egypt? They have all fled before one or the other of the great Asiatic religions. Buddha, Christ and Mahomet were all Asiatics; their religions are Oriental in their thought, their lofty diction, and their setting. We may well feel reverence for our

High Priest Melchisidec, for our grand old kinsman Abraham, for our shepherd King David; they were great-grandfathers of the founder of Christianity, though it was the Roman Cross of His Passion which has become the emblem of the Faith. While every one of the eleven venerated apostles, whose statues stand in thousands of chapels, was an Asiatic Jew.

Our own direct race ancestors had a wondrous liking for the Jewish heroes of the old dispensation, and made it manifest in the names of their children. Not everyone has had a living great-uncle Gad and a great-uncle Abiah; nor can every colonial family boast a succession like that of the Cape Cod Shearjashub Bournes. But Mordecais and Michaiahs, Mishmas, Zerihiahs, Kophas, Jephthas, Antiphas, and Abimelechs, can be found in many genealogies,—to say nothing of the milder Miriams, and Hadassahs, and Abigails and Tirzahs. Even the choice of names from the New Testament worthies was subject to a kind of fashion—there were plenty of Colonial Andrews and Johns and James and Thomases and Peters; yet what notable was called Philip, or Mark or Paul?

The Old Testament was after all a sacred book of the Christians, only because the founders of Christianity referred to it with love and veneration; its acceptance as a rule of faith and practice is one of the mysteries of the Protestant Reformation, and brought with it the singular belief that everybody mentioned in the Old Testament, unless with express terms of disapproval, was a saint. I learned my letters on the quarto family Bible, the one with the births and deaths in it, in which about two-thirds of the way along, a steel engraving caused wonderment to my youthful mind. It showed three men in outlandish garb, bending before a child in a cradle; but what was that other strange person who stood erect, higher than them all, with a haughty expression? I guessed it to be God, though I never ventured to ask anybody; and it was years later that a larger knowledge of

natural history made it possible to identify this occult being as a camel.

I have read the Bible through from cover to cover in my time, and I do not remember that I allowed myself the satisfaction of believing that Jacob was a person whom one would not wish to see a member of his club, or a partner in business. On the other hand I have always felt that Saul had not a fair show—so kingly and so grand, except for that unfortunate love of hitting people. On the face of it Jehu was ungenerous in his dislike of the seventy sons of Ahab, when he wrote to the “great men of the city which brought them up” to “take ye the heads of the men your master’s sons.” Then he stood up in the assembly and said to his tools “Ye be righteous. Behold I conspired against my master, and slew him: but who slew all these . . . so Jehu slew . . . all his great men, and his kinfolks, and his priests, until he left him none remaining.” There is an element of injustice in this transaction, it reminds one too much of the German Governor General Bissing of Belgium.

One sympathizes with the old lady who remarked one day, “I have just been readin’ the Old Testament; and, my, how they did act!” The truth is that neither our ancestors nor ourselves really worship the Old Testament worthies. Our New England forbears in their troubles with savage enemies and Antinomians were comforted by these massacres and acts of perfidy toward the heathen; but I have never got over the shock of learning some years ago that my pet great-great-great-grandfather was one of the Connecticut soldiery that destroyed the Pequots, root and branch.

Our Moslem brethren who have adopted some of the Old Testament’s great-grandfathers are less scrupulous. They do not hesitate, for instance, to dwell upon the softer and more intimate side of the character of King Solomon. To this day probably they relate to the visitor at the Great Wall of Baalbec their ex-

planation of how those three monster stones, sixty-four feet long, could be placed there. Their account is that when the time came to lay the wall, King Solomon one day assembled all the workmen and artificers of the kingdom, who began at dawn and strained and struggled till at dusk the first stone had been slid along into its proper bed. The next day the problem was more serious, for the second stone had to be lifted and placed upon the other. When the workmen could not budge it, King Solomon called upon all the soldiers of all his armies; they worked and stewed and pushed, and that evening their job was completed: the wall was two stones high. The third day the lift was doubled. Workmen and soldiers combined, labored and sweat without avail; evening approached with all the horror of a task incomplete, and a great king powerless,—when a happy thought occurred to Solomon, who summoned all his wives. They gathered about the mighty stone, crooked their little fingers under it, and presto, it soared into its place.

At some later time this incident will be questioned as an example of a lack of caution in accumulating historic data. It is stated as I heard it more than fifty years ago from a man who had been at Baalbec. Some clergymen nowadays venture to criticise Jacob, although it brings upon them the censure due to a man who questions the Scriptures. As the young theologian put it, in a sermon, "Cain was a bad man. Cain was a Bible critic, and he became an atrocious murderer."

There are some heroes of proof both in the Old Testament and the New. Gideon, forerunner of the three hundred at Thermopylae and of the Dutch at Leyden; patient Ezra and Nehemiah, rebuilders of the commonwealth, and David's soldier who risked his life to bring water to his chieftain. David himself is the most human character in the whole Old Testament, by turns good, fair to middling, and bad; but "a man after God's own heart," with all his deficien-

cies. To the modern mind, however, the noblest Biblical hero is Saul that was called Paul, the itinerant minister and evangelist, who went through all the harsh experiences of the frontier in the midst of the highest civilization of the times. An undaunted soul who well might say "I have finished the fight. I have kept the faith." Saul, the modern, fond of metaphysics, anxious to fit together a theological system, like Jonathan Edwards and Doctor Park and Dr. Lyman Abbott—is a human and a humane man, whom nevertheless, our godly ancestors used chiefly as a foundation on which to build impossible theories of the relation between God and His creatures.

II. THE GREEKS

Time was when the students of Harvard College all studied Hebrew in order that they might better understand the scriptures which so many of our ancestors were to expound from the pulpit. Those were the good old eighteenth-century days when Judah Monis, the proselyte from Hebraism, taught Hebrew to the students and owned a negro slave,—doubtless as a mark of dignity. None of them, however, followed in the footsteps of President Stiles of Yale with his intimate studies of the Targum. Nevertheless they all knew Greek,—or rather studied Greek and knew no more of it than most of their classically educated descendants.

Now in Greece there is something positive to worship, because we do not take our moral standard from that source; we may admire Pericles without approving the salon of Aspasia. How many years ago was it that I crossed from Brindisi to Corfu and so to Patras, along with a nephew of the greatest protagonist of Greek culture in the United States? As the steamer approached the strait between Epirus and Corfu my young friend looked about him dazed and asked, "How high is this above the sea?" Who that has approached those dramatic shores, has failed to catch

that thrill? There is nothing more beautiful than the most beautiful. When one has seen the blue mountains rising beyond blue waters against a blue horizon, or has watched the golden sky as it encloses the faint green outline of distant islands, the time has arrived to worship Greek great-grandfathers. The Harvard students of my earliest experience did so as a matter of conscience.

In those distant ages, forty years ago, there was nothing so admirable in American life, nothing so thrilling in its intellectual uplift, nothing so pedagogically exquisite as to be a professor of Greek, in an American college. The range of possible scholarship then was small, and it was a vast thing to corner the most spacious area of the human mind. The figure is mixed and so was the sensation! Take our venerated Professor William Watson Goodwin, for example, an excellent and genial character, whose personal friendship I greatly prized. He was professor of Greek, he had written an intolerable,—I mean an invaluable—book upon Greek Moods and Tenses, a work of learning and discrimination which justly brought him the laurel of a Cambridge doctorate and red gown. He was immersed in Greek—not in the Greek thoughts, which to the men of his time were looked upon rather as poles upon which to hang deductions as to the difference between the negative in *ou* and the negative in *me*. But his learning was the possession of the University and the Commonwealth, and he never grudged it to a fellow delver.

Professor Goodwin had a tale which I cannot forbear recording, for it deals with one medium of our approach to our intellectual Greek great-grandfathers. A friend, then, called one day and remarked, "Well, Goodwin, I am sorry to see that you are so down in the world that you have been obliged to sell your books." The Grecian looked about his library, as much as to intimate that some were left. "You must be selling off your books, because here is a Byzantine

Greek lexicon which I picked up at Bartlett's the other day." "How do you know it is mine?" "Because it has your name on the flyleaf written in your own hand." "That is not possible; but if it were really mine it would have my name also on the hundred and first page." Examination showed that he had written his name with his own hand on that page. There were divers other marginal notes unmistakably made by him. "That is singular," said the sage slowly, "because about six months ago I lent that book to a divinity student who said he could find no copy in the library. I hesitated, for it is a book that I might not use for a year and might want tomorrow; but the young man was very pressing, and I let him have it; and it has never been returned." "Well, that's clear enough, you had better send for the police, and see what is the general state of the book market." "No I can't do that, there may be something that we do not understand. Wait while I send a messenger with a note asking the immediate return of my lexicon." Forth goes the messenger, and presently returns with the lexicon—and due apologies. Confusion, doubt, dismay. The professor sets his mnemonic apparatus at work, and slowly the story comes back to him. He had a lexicon which he bought at the University Book Store; he put his name on the flyleaf and with a signed manual at page 101; he made notes in it; then he discovered that there was a signature missing in the book. He took it back and Sever gave him a fresh copy, into which he transcribed his annotations and recked not what became of copy number one. Men have been hanged on less conclusive evidence.

The Greek professors worshipped the classic writers; and Greek would be in a very different condition in the educational world today if they had also worshipped the glorious ideas found in those pages. The true Grecian of the generation now passing by was Charles Eliot Norton, who though he had never been so happy

as to set foot in the country, made a fane of the Parthenon, and beloved friends of the columns and the statues and the vases. Who can help worshipping that glorious Hermes of Olympia, with the little chap perched upon his arm, at whom he looks as King Alkinoos looked upon his daughter Nausicaa, "And her father smiled, for he knows everything." Yet that is a cold god; give me rather the burial stelae in the Keramikos gateway of Athens, or the nearby Museum, where friend humanly stretches hand to friend, wife to husband, father to son, and even the dog shares in the universal grief; they all tell the same mournful tale; "Goodbye companion, goodbye wife, goodbye son, goodbye master, you are going the longest journey and I am left behind."

That illustrates the theme of this discussion; we all worship the stately dignity of the temples of Athens and of Pæstum and Girgenti; we are all reverent before the sculptures of the Parthenon and the glorious lady of Melos. We all preach the doctrine of balance, of majesty. Our Greek grandfathers liked that, but they also liked the grand and the terrible. Witness the terrific marbles of the altar of Pergamon. It is a figment that all the best Greek sculpture is in repose!

A fiddlestick for repose in art or in literature, if it deprive us of the human view! I worship the Greeks who sat in the theater by the hour and were roused to passion by Aeschulus or Sophocles. I like to think of them hearing the sublime tragedy, the Persians, when the messenger reports that "everything that has oars puts to sea," while the eager gaze of the auditors is stretching down past the Piræus to the very strait where the Persian galleys and their allies dug their oars into the water to get away from Salamis. I like to think of them too as roaring over the farces of Aristophanes, and as listening spellbound to Homer, great-grandfather of all mankind.

My limited study of Greek did give me an exquisite pleasure in the Odyssey, that delightful combination

of Sinbad the Sailor, Sir Francis Drake and Conrad's sea tales. I worship the freedom, the life, the courage, the experience, the loves and hates of men; and everybody who can think burns incense to the Greeks who in Thermopylæ and Marathon showed that small states have their place alongside great empires; and that the most crushing and overweening power may be brought low. In these days of might and aggregation, when the world cannot be saved short of the sacrifice of ten million good lives, I love to think of the power of the few.

It is not necessary here to go into the discussion of how far one must puzzle over Greek sentences and invoke the lexicon in order to penetrate the ideas of these ancients. What modern German philosopher was it who was reputed to read Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* in a French translation? That road is open to all who venerate Greek literature. The Greeks themselves know no such thing as a Greek grammar, nor did they think a man of learning must potter about in Egyptian hieroglyphics or Assyrian cuneiforms.

The battle for the Greek language as a pabulum for school boys and girls is over. Greek has almost disappeared out of the American high schools, and in course of time will be read in colleges as Russian and Arabic may be read, as Anglo-Saxon and Provencal are read, as bases of a critical study of language. The American school boy was not taught to worship the real Greek, the statesman, the merchant, the adventurer, the civilizer. What American boy here present realizes that the heyday of Greek culture came long after the classic period; that the Greeks who made the world over were disciples of Alexander and not of Pericles; that the Greek language and the Greek spirit lingered in Constantinople till the successive strata of unspeakable Turks and Tartars broke up the Byzantine empire? As a practical, living, immediate, vital force, in the world of which it was a part, the city

state of Athens operated for a shorter time than the official existence of the United States of America down to the present year.

It is an amazing thing that Greeks of kindred culture could not be persuaded to act together by prodigious Aristotle, the Colossus among great thinkers; and William-James-like Plato, full of humanity; and healthful Socrates, the *New York Nation* of his day, and wily Themistocles, and Alcibiades, the political man-about-town of the age. The Greeks would rather be Persians than be portions of a powerful Greek state that could make head against Rome, that ancient Chicago rising in the west on the Tiber. Of what use to their race all this worshipful power of statement, this balance, this perfection of finish, this ease in doing great things, this clear insight into the woes of other nations? When the pinch came, intellectual Athens, and Teuton-like Sparta both failed, and it was left to the group of allied cities of the Achaean League to make a belated and unsuccessful attempt to combine against the Romans.

The gift of these great-grandfathers to mankind is immeasurable. The world without them would be like the Anglo-Saxon people without Shakespeare. They had not the genius of state building. The confusion and failure of the political world, the world of affairs, with the Greeks, is sufficiently illustrated by the present inability of the Balkan peoples to come to a common understanding. The Serbians took the birthplace of Alexander on their road to Constantinople; but the modern Greeks like their ancient forebears, think not solely of imperial things.

III. ROME

Another group of our worshipful masters is to be found in Rome, and they are much more great-grandfatherly than the Greeks; they have had a larger share in forming our language, and a much greater influence on the political thinking of the modern world.

Rome, the city, is an inspiration to the late time Americans. One of my friends from Wisconsin told me once that he found himself in a Roman pension sitting side by side with a compatriot from a similar longitude, who intimated that he meant to do Rome thoroughly while he was there. This was at dinner. The next forenoon the wayfarer was found dragging his own trunk across the passage, and when asked if he were changing his room replied, "Changing my room, no sirree, I'm leaving. Me and my friend started out early this morning in a hack. We've driven around this city and seen every darned building that has a roof on it, and as for those that haint any roofs, I say let bygones be bygones. We are going to take the two o'clock train for Paris!" For most visitors it is not so easy to throw off the magic of our Roman great-grandfathers. It is an unending pleasure to circumnavigate the walls, to wander about the Campagna among the wild cattle and the foundations of the former arches of the aqueducts. Athens is after all only a ruin; Rome is a ruined city, which is a different thing! The more you know the city, however, the stranger it seems that the world should have received such an impression of the Roman Republic as to have all but dominated France and tinged our own Revolution.

Here again we worship great-grandfather, not so much for the splendid things he did as because we have read about him in our schoolbooks. We are all completely aware that there was a Roman Republic which existed for centuries, and was directed by marvels of Republican virtue, which slowly succumbed to the tyrant Julius Caesar and was transformed by Augustus into an arbitrary empire. It must have been a Republic because we read of elections, debates in the senate, public meetings, and funeral orations, till we get the impression that the Pincian was only another Beacon Hill in which the only thing lacking was a Constitutional Convention.

This admiration of ancient republicanism is not due to our reading of history, because it is only very recently that men like Ferrero have ventured to treat Roman history from the point of view that the Romans were human beings, animated by much the same principles of state policy as the Republic of the United States today. We worship great-grandfather Cincinnatus and Scipio Africanus and Brutus and Cicero, chiefly because of Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome*, combined in due proportion with Caesar's *Gallic War* and Smith's *History of Rome*, than which a more juiceless book was never dealt out to candidates for entrance to Harvard College! It seems impossible for us to compare Caesar with, say, Napoleon, both of whom had great notions of creating an empire that would stay put. Cicero is to us like Demosthenes—a megaphone for lofty sentiments; whereas Cicero was the Disraeli of his time; an opportunist, a declaimer, a shrewd politician, yet withal a genuine lover of his country.

Why multiply parallels? The main thing about the worship of Rome is that the story of the Republic is a glorious story, which seems as we look back upon it to be studded with great men as a bag pudding is with plums. All the Romans, good or bad, seem magnificent, from Pompey the Great, down to Catiline—that Roman Aaron Burr; and still further down to Clodius and his Tammany associates. Yet only a handful of those great ones have survived in our own popular apprehension. Two thousand years hence people will look back upon these three centuries of American history as crammed with greatness, but they will all stand on the same footing: John Winthrop, John Paul Jones, George Washington, Andrew Jackson, Abraham Lincoln, Grover Cleveland, Theodore Roosevelt, General Grant, Miles Standish—all thrown upon one background. The truth is—a happy phrase for the critic—that Rome was really about as republican as Austria-Hungary was down to 1918. The real

government being a small group of self-chosen families who had a form of national government, but really the decisions were all made within a single city. The Emperor Charles and his associates were singularly like the republican government of Rome in its last days, with outlying provinces practically governed from headquarters.

Even among the small number of persons who had the right to vote in Rome and thus to make decisions for the Republic, there were masterpieces of sharp practice; the graffiti on the walls of Pompeii bear curious evidence to the methods of calling attention to nominees for office, under the accumulation of political influences which we should term "combines" and "bosses," with a dash of the labor union.

The Roman Republic really owes a great part of its extraordinary hold on the imaginations of twenty later centuries to its casual connection with literature—Cicero against Verres, Livy's so-called History, Plutarch's Lives, and Caesar's Commentaries, were not written as school books, and quite artificially became vehicles of the Latin tongue to unwilling boys. The formal study of ancient history in this country came in quite as an adjunct to the classics; would it not be a good thing on the whole for a boy who was studying Latin to have something more than the accidental contact with the passages for the day, and to study a consecutive narrative of Roman history, which however was not obtained from the textbooks of forty years ago? The closer study of the classics in Europe led to a splendid tradition of the Republic, best exemplified by the pseudo-classicism of the French Revolution, in which Citizen Robespierre proscribed Citizen Danton as General Sulla in his time proscribed General Marius. Even in our Constitutional Convention of 1787 there was some loose talk about the virtues of the Roman Republic.

What was the Rome that remade the world, that feebly blazed up in the Holy Roman Empire, the Rome

continued in tradition at Byzantium, the Rome whose example of world dominion has caused the Germans to put themselves forward as the modern Romans? Their lack of the Roman qualities of understanding of other races, of justice between man and man, of obligation to the dependencies, has caused their edifice to crash together before it was completed.

No wonder men still worship the Rome—the Empire—whose tremendous benefits to mankind are obscured by the yellow press headlines of the time of Nero and Caligula and Heliogabalus, who were accidental ships on the current; indeed Nero rendered a service to mankind by giving an opportunity for the German author's comparison between the Roman emperor and the late German emperor, for the fun of writing which the term of imprisonment was a light expense.

Of course the modern Roman empire is the British empire with its small home country, its imperial decisions made by the fifteen million or so constituents of the House of Commons, the British Empire imposing its Pax Britannica on immense areas of Asia, Oceania, and Africa—a power with a truly Roman sense of holding the provinces together by mutual attraction.

Indeed Britain might have revolutionized the world but for the insuperable British objection to “marrying a nigger”—even though the elite black is a beautiful brown princess, descended from a dynasty of Indian kings. Not so Anthony, who became intimately acquainted with an Egyptian queen; not so the Roman soldiers, who took to themselves wives of the daughters of Heth wherever they were stationed and thus founded the composite populations of Italy, Switzerland, France, and Spain. England though once half Romanized has nothing to show of Roman blood and almost nothing of Roman institutions.

The most solid and stable erection of the Romans, more complete than the Coliseum, more enduring than the Pantheon, more lofty than the Pont du Gard, is the Roman law, which all the world knows was codified

by the Byzantines after Rome, the parent, was a desolation. Part of it is lodged in the common law which has helped to preserve the universal sense of Rome; but the Roman law has spread far beyond the ancient bonds of the Roman empire; is at the basis not only of the Latin powers, including more than half the two Americas, but of German jurisprudence. It is easy to worship Augustus or Hadrian, but Justinian is the great-grandfather whose work is most enduring. Roman history is essential for the modern world, inasmuch as the fibers of Roman thought and organization have penetrated into every Western language and into all our forms of government. Election is a Roman word, and so are candidate, representative, president, kaiser, primary, initiative, referendum, justice, executive, governor, senator, congress,—most of our political dictionary. Only let us study and let us teach our children the Rome that counts, the Rome that was, the Rome that fell because it attempted the impossible task of absorbing all European civilization and dealing it out to the barbarians who fringed the Empire. After all perhaps the greatest lesson of Rome is that universal dominion is impossible, that the world must be carried on by understandings, associations, leagues, world organization. The world has outlived the Roman system of government from above down.

IV. THE TEUTONS

The fourth series of great-grandfathers is a ticklish subject in these times, when we have learned to know the character and aims of the German great-grandchildren of our Teutonic ancestors. A western school board has thrown out a textbook which spoke favorably of the ancient Germans. It is even unsafe to own to a knowledge of the German language, lest it pervert our minds with the fallacious maxims of a Treitschke, or the materialistic views of Nietzsche. I own that I value the privilege of testing my ability to resist the

worse reason put for the better in the original crabbed type.

These efforts to prevent the publication of German ideas, even to give them opportunity to refute themselves, puts me in mind of an old gentleman who listened with impatience to a lecturer who was trying to set forth the truth that ancient Rome was not made up of the men and women whom one meets strolling through the pages of Martial and Juvenal; that there were honest fathers and affectionate mothers and beautiful children among the ancient folk. At last the good old gentleman rose, shaking with indignation, and interposed "Sir, I protest at this barefaced attempt to deprive us of the vices of 'the ancient Romans'!" I protest also at being deprived of the opportunity to swear at the Kaiser in his own language.

As for the great-grandfathers, we may stand on safe ground if we recognize that all Germans are Teutons, but all Teutons are not Germans—we among the rest. I like to recall our Teutonic ancestors who hurled stones and epithets across the Rhine at the Roman legions; who came as Anglo-Saxon pirates to carry their outlook on life and their name to England; who as Norman earls crossed with William the Conqueror. We Americans run closer to ancestral form than the people who are now trying to arrogate to themselves the essence of the Teutonic spirit. We are good Teutons—the Germans are bad Teutons.

Our true and distant Teutonic great-grandfathers deserve our respect and gratitude, first for the reasons which made Kipling admire "Fuzzy-wuz"—"For ye bruk a British square." Who was it that smashed the Roman Empire, as the Allies are now smashing the German Empire? Who sacked the Eternal City, founded royal dynasties in Sicily, in Spain, in Northern Africa? Who settled Britain and laid the foundations for Danes and others to complete the job? Who established the enlightened countries of Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Switzerland? Who were the

first Europeans to reach the shores of America? Teutons of various degrees. Those times when all Europe was frontier have passed by; the Teutons have separated into many branches. One of them still imagines the world to be the booty of the free-booter who has lost conscience. The present war is in a way an attempt to revive those plundering voyages, those descents of swift ships on the enemy's coast, those harryings of the land, those drives on the towns, that murder and rapine, that burning of bridges, that enslavement of captives from which the rest of western Europe has painfully emerged.

We must not forget that the trouble with the Germans is that they consider themselves the most modern and highly cultured nation on earth, while thinking the thoughts and practicing the deeds of two thousand years ago. They have gone back to Thor, the hammerer, and the people have been systematically taught, from babes in the kindergarten up, that virtuous nations were those which have the biggest and most effective armies; that Germany is a very virtuous nation; then, that it is so virtuous that it may dispense with the restraints of Scripture, the church, international law, and civilization. Therefore the whole land was kept waiting till Authority should unchain the big dogs of war to rush upon and destroy the enemy. Then Germany was to fix up the world on the principle of the gospel according to Attila.

What we thank our Teutonic ancestors for is not the fathering this barbaric branch of the great race but for several direct services to mankind in none of which the Germans have shared. Tacitus was not particularly fond of the Germans, yet he gave them credit for an unextinguishable love of personal freedom, which the present Germans have ignored. The seaboard Teutons were magnificent seamen. It took skill and pluck for the Angles and Danes and Norwegians to cross the seas and to occupy Britain, a task too great for modern Germans. The great fleet, in

building for twenty years, has once ventured off soundings, and did not venture to repeat the experience. The Teutons had a national assembly—progenitor of Parliament and Congress; the German Reichstag is like the little man who foretells the weather by smiling appearance when there is nothing doing, by disappearance whenever a storm is expected. The notion of even representation of large communities, unknown to the ancients, is a Teutonic idea, which the Germans have steadfastly refused to carry to its logical conclusion of "one man one vote." What the Germans lack is an admixture of tempering blood with their too-rank Teutonism. Other Teutonic races have learned that brotherhood of races and common humanity is stronger than Blood and Iron.

The Germans have revised an ancient Teutonic worship, from which more favored branches of the great race are free. They have returned to heathenism, and have set up for their ideal a Moloch of a creature which they call the Good Old German God. The *Libre Belge*, that fiery sheet which somehow finds its way into the bedroom of the German Governor General, and which dares to satirize the All Highest, in one of its issues relates an incident which has recently happened in Paradise. The German Chancellor, it appears, presented himself at the gate, and announced that he had come to call on God, "I am very sorry," said Peter, "but I don't think you can see him." "Why not, you do not understand that I come from the All Highest." "That's just the trouble God isn't very well today. We are afraid that—well, he goes about Heaven muttering to himself and saying 'I am the kaiser, I am the kaiser'—you understand." "Oh, is it as bad as that? Well, I'll leave a message which perhaps will lessen the strain upon the poor soul. Tell him that I was commissioned by the emperor to bestow upon him the initial rank of German nobility, so that from henceforth he may be known as 'the Baron von Gott'."

V. THE AMERICANS

In our private minds we hold that we have inherited all the good and permanent and laudable things from our nearest great-grandfathers by blood; we do not stop to ask where they gained the wealth of institutions which they transmitted to us. I have tried to show the powerful sources from which they drank. Our great grandfathers are really almost the only ancient thing in the United States. We cherish few old buildings, little in colonial furniture and gear, few manuscripts, scanty portraits. John Vassal of Cambridge bequeathed his rich suits of clothes to his son—most of us have received only precepts, principles and epitaphs.

We worship Great-Grandfather for worshipping God according to the dictates of his own conscience. We thank him for religious toleration—but he never would have thanked us for admitting Baptists and Episcopalians and possibly theists into the American Antiquarian Society. It was a noble thing for Great-Grandfather to exile himself in pursuit of religious liberty—but why put so many stumbling blocks in the way of other people intent on worshipping God according to the dictates of their own consciences? John Winthrop and Cotton Mather and Jonathan Edwards served their day and generation—but put alongside them Roger Williams, William Penn and John Wesley—which did most for the happiness and ultimate salvation of men and women by providing a genuine and general religious liberty?

May we worship Great-Grandfather for his course of life, his private conduct? Doubtless the standards of the community were high, but every reader of colonial letters, diaries and journals knows that the cord was stretched too taut. Goodly men not only called themselves miserable sinners, but occasionally made it true. What means the judge's record of his call upon a lady at 9 p. m.? What is the Yankee Bundling against which Edwards preached? What

was that Scarlet A that Hawthorne resurrected? The Colonial Puritan was a delightful man for a Great-Grandfather, but not for a household companion. There was a vein of cruelty in him. Even Whitefield found it a necessary road to godliness to whip the little boy aboard ship that could not say his prayers; and Jonathan Edwards wrote his daughter that he would rather see her dead than unconverted.

Let us be truthful even about our ancestors. They were men and women of vigor, earnest and passionate, not very different in temperament from reputable folk nowadays. As for the submerged tenth, they had their population of roisterers and criminals, their vile sons of godly fathers. Doubtless there were ameliorations, witticisms, familiar sayings, feasting and laughter; Reverend John Davenport was celebrated for his love of a joke, and Reverend Mather Byles was the Doctor Holmes of his time—with his quip on the British troops in Boston—"Now all our wrongs will be red-dressed." Nevertheless the atmosphere of godly colonial life was chill.

We have great reason to be grateful to Great-Grandfather for his rugged virtues of thrift and honesty and perseverance, for his effort to gain the high values of living, and for his political sagacity. Perhaps he was not always above the tricks of the boss. When the Boston Town Meeting was voting upon adding to the Granary Burying ground "John Pigeon was seen to put in ten votes with the word 'yea' written on every one of em"—but John Pigeon was forthwith fined ten shillings—the machinery of the corrupt practices act worked quickly.

Great-Grandfather is also entitled to all praise for his success in popular government. The town meetings and colonial legislative bodies were as near democratic bodies, debating and voting for the public good, as the limited suffrage allowed. This political sense made the Revolution succeed, the times produced a surprising number of active minds which worked together, to build a commonwealth.

In no respect is worship of the bygone more reasonable than for the constructive political skill of that epoch. "In those days there were giants,"—starting from the clumsy and imperfect charters and practices of the colonies, they arrived at successful state governments, and the crowning triumph of a national government. All honor for that service! But we must remember that they were successful because they were experiments. We cannot worship them without recognizing what a departure it was from previous experience. They were bold in tackling new problems; they had a genius for documents; they instilled respect for the fundamental law—but nowadays the Fathers of the Constitution would be classed as dangerous theorists who were the firebrands of the time; the image breakers, the fanatics, those who as Confucius said, "Will still be doing in these impracticable times." James Otis, Oxenbridge Thacher, John Adams, Sam Adams, John Dickinson, John Rutledge, Peyton Randolph, Patrick Henry, George Washington. Those were the radicals of their time. the demanders of change, the Apostles of Revolution. The staid and gentlemanly Tories looked upon them as we look upon the I. W. W.!

From worship of the Constitution makers we have become worshippers of the work of their hands; we bow down to the wood and stone of the forms of government which they established on the ruins of their old institutions. I have of late heard many voices urging people not to disturb the sacred phrases of a constitution 130 years old. I do what they did, I claim the right to start afresh, to readjust the machinery of government to the necessities of the times.

The rules of this honorable society forbid the discussions of questions more recent than the Civil War. I yield to that edict; but to discuss the present Constitutional position of Massachusetts and other weakly governed communities is no more than to appeal to Great-Grandfather, who taught the world the salutary

lesson of making your political machinery agree with your needs. The Fathers of the Constitution threw over their old governments, introduced new political methods, expanded the suffrage, put off the shackles of the governors, and put them on the legislatures, set up new courts and a novel system of legislation, made the referendum a part of their legal process. A good job, worthy of admiration—must we stop there?

What will Great-Grandsire say about the apathy of this day and generation—when the world is on fire? Will he not upbraid us for lauding his character and ignoring his example? Will he not set us down as weaklings who cannot do what he did—make our state governments adequate for the times?

In the midst of a myriad of vexing details, there is but one problem of government that stares us in the face. Forms are only man made, no portion of any government is sacred. The one essential of government is that it should act. If inherited forms restrict, they must give way. The one essential, mature governmental force, is the will of the people concerned. We are precluded from venerating the Declaration of Independence and then shirking from its conclusion. I have heard in the last two years dozens of arguments of which the pith was that the people of this Commonwealth were too weak and too ignorant and too unfair to be trusted with government. But somebody must govern. If not the people, then a part of the people, and a self-designated part at that!

No, Great-Grandfather, we shall not throw overboard your splendid principles of human liberty—we are carefully giving Europe time to adapt them. We shall not overthrow the main portions of your intention. But we shall somehow make it fit for our times—for our cities—laborers, business, social welfare, order, defenses. What the states refuse to do will be done for them by the nation at large. The federal government is teaching us the truth of Napoleon's maxim: "What is possible is already done. What is impossible must be done."

The American people is a Samson, sometimes wavering, sometimes beguiled, but a creature of vast ultimate power. Samson may permit himself to be bound with green withes—but he breaks them when he will. Even if you put out his eyes, he will still be strong enough to pull down your Republic over your heads unless you give scope for his vast strength to build up the community.

ROGERS'S MICHILLIMACKINAC JOURNAL

BY WILLIAM L. CLEMENTS

The scene of the occurrences narrated in this Journal was at Fort Michillimackinac, located at the entrance of Lake Michigan and at the Western terminus of the Strait connecting Lake Michigan and Lake Huron. The meaning of the word in the Algonquin tongue is "Place of the big lame person." The word has been abbreviated into Mackinac and is pronounced Mackinaw.¹ The present Fort Mackinac, on Mackinac Island, is the successor of the original fort located on the mainland, built in 1712 by the French for the protection of their trade; and during the so-called French and Indian War (1755-1761), was surrendered to the British. The Treaty of Paris (1783) ceded this fort and district to the United States. This mainland fort was the scene of many conferences during the French régime with Indians and Traders, and it was the scene during English occupation in 1763, of the massacre beginning Pontiac's War. ~~Several miles~~ west of the present Mackinaw City a tourist today is shown what is supposed to be the location of the original fort. In 1781 the mainland fort was abandoned by the English and a new and stronger fortress was erected on the Island of Mackinac, which remains today, and is maintained in a Michigan State Reservation.

The district of Mackinac, or Michillimackinac, in early history included all of the region in the vicinity of the

¹The spelling has been made phonetic with Old Mackinaw and Mackinaw City. We speak of Mackinac Island, Fort Mackinac and the Straits of Mackinac, but of Mackinaw City and Old Mackinaw.

Island. The Point Saint Ignace Mission^a and stations located on the north side of the Strait were in this district. It is needless to say there was no boundary.

There is some ground for belief that the mainland fort was in two locations not far apart at different times; the earlier one on Lake Michigan, a short distance beyond the Straits, and the later located as we have described it.

The Fort Michillimackinac of this Journal undoubtedly is on the later mainland location and in the accompanying drawing the fort and location are shown taken from the Crown Collection of Maps in the British Museum.

It is only by a great stretch of the imagination that we can call such a structure as is here shown a fort—a few posts of wood embedded in the ground and intended to withstand arrows and gun shot, and the whole settlement and fort including a commandant and a few soldiers within the enclosure, and without it the bourgeois, the voyageurs, the coureurs de bois and the French habitants—the last, the most indolent men imaginable. To all of the above we must add the robed and sombre Jesuit priests and many Indains. These Indians were Algonquins, or Indians of the Algonquian tongue. They included the Ottawas, Ojibwas or Chippewas, Pottawatomies, Sacs and Foxes. All the above were related by kindred speech to the Micmacs, Abenakis and Delawares in the East and the Illinois, Shawnees in the South and the Crees and “Blackfeet” in the North and West. Such was Fort Michillimackinac in 1766, the date of the beginning of Rogers's Journal.

Major Robert Rogers wrote and published two books of considerable historical value; “A Concise Account of North America,” and his “Journals,” both appearing simultaneously in London in 1765, and during his first visit to England. His other published

^a A mission was established there as early as 1670 and abandoned in 1701.

writing "Ponteach" was probably written at about this time, for the imprint bears the date 1766. It now appears without a doubt that Rogers was the author of this tragedy, one of the earliest productions in the field of the American dramatic art. His *Journal* published in 1765 will always be considered one of the source books of the French and Indian War. It recites his experiences in a modest way and the important part he played in this war. The truth of the narrative has never been questioned.

If the career of Rogers had ended in 1765, or after the production of his *Journal*, he would have come down to us as a hero whose deeds were unsurpassed in bravery by any soldier serving in the trying Colonial times from 1755 to 1761. Rogers was a very brave man and did much to win the war for the English.

The daring adventurer, however, even though this bravery evidenced itself very early in his career in the defence of his native settlement, never seemed to have inspired his neighbors and associates with a degree of confidence that might be expected under such circumstances, for his actions as a civilian were quite in contrast to his bravery as a director of a scout expedition or the defender of a precarious position. His lack of a proper sense of honesty, his frequent indiscretions and sometimes his utter disregard for the opinions and orders of his superiors, led him to be regarded by his military associates with distrust, although by all his daring and bravery were unquestioned.

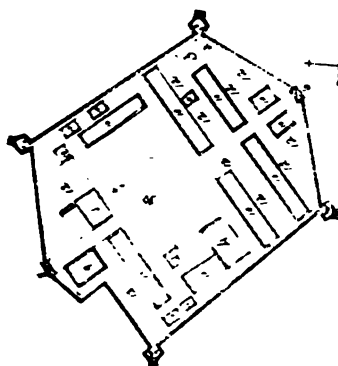
In 1765, when Rogers appeared in England and produced his *Journal*, he was hailed as a writer and a warrior, to whom too little credit had been given for the successful culmination of the late war, and it is not surprising that among his many activities, therefore, that his solicitations for advancement in the services of the Government and subsidiary trading companies should have been received and considered. It is not surprising, either, even with formal statements and objections from his associates in America, including

Wm. J. Hall

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Sir William Johnson, of his unfitness for high official positions of trust, that even such reports should be to a large extent ignored and that he was given, through influence of the Earl of Hillsborough, President of the English Board of Trade, the position of Commandant of Michillimackinac with certain other duties to perform incident to the occupation of the newly acquired territory. He was now in fact the Commandant and Executive Officer of trade at Michillimackinac.

With such commissions conferred upon him, to the consternation of his former associates, he appeared in America in the spring of 1766 and reported unwillingly to his senior Executive, the Indian Commissioner, Sir William Johnson at Johnson Hall, for duty.

That Johnson had many reasons for mistrusting in all capacities Rogers, there is no doubt; that he and his superior, General Gage, had misgivings as to what would be the result of his work at Michillimackinac there is no doubt; but it appears, too, that even with the subdued antagonism of Rogers toward Johnson, that there was not a better effort made by Johnson, a sincere effort, to turn to some use Rogers's experience, for it must be remembered that Rogers had performed the service several years before of taking possession of the forts about Lake Erie, and of receiving from the French the important fort at Detroit, and no event in Rogers's career shows him to greater advantage than his tactful negotiations with Pontiac and his people near Detroit, the peaceful occupation of the fort, and the peaceful submission of the Indian tribes thereabouts.

From the date of Rogers's commission and his appearance at Johnson Hall for duty, it appears that Johnson's fixed purpose was to oppose all activities of Rogers, and to circumscribe his authority to the greatest extent within his power.

We are not here interested more than is necessary in the quarrels between Johnson and Rogers. I doubt not that whatever action, even for good, that Rogers

might have taken in the administration of affairs at Michillimackinac, would have been opposed by Johnson, and in his letter to General Gage in which Johnson stated "that he (Rogers) should be tied up in such a manner as shall best prevent him doing mischief," forever discounted any kind of effort with important initiative by Rogers.

We must consider, however, all of these matters in connection with the "Michillimackinac Journal," because this Journal records the transactions of Rogers which led to charges by Johnson of dishonesty, never completely confirmed, and of treason after matters had reached such a stage that Rogers's authority at Michillimackinac was completely set aside, and Rogers in desperation, with his drafts for purchases of supplies and Indian gifts unpaid, associated himself with such enterprises that his recall was undoubtedly justified, and, as a climax to his Michillimackinac career, he was brought in chains to Montreal for trial. It should be stated that Rogers was never convicted of treason.

The conflict between the crafty Irishman, Sir William Johnson, and Rogers, ending in the complete vindication of the Johnson methods in the conduct of Indian affairs of the time, left Rogers with few friends and but a remainder of his reputation of 1760, but his administration at Michillimackinac, with its extravagance in seeking Indian trade and friendships, leads us to the principal interest and value of this Journal. Without Rogers and his extravagance, there would be no report of half-civilized and uncivilized life at Michillimackinac and vicinity during this period. Through him and his methods there were congregated at Michillimackinac and held for a period of nearly two years the largest number of Indians that history records; and we become acquainted through this Journal with the deplorable conditions of the Chippewas, Ottawas, and other tribes of the Algonquin extraction, and the fierce competition between the French and English for trade with the tribes not only



of this region but even with those tribes roaming farther West.

This Journal will always be a source chapter in Northwest history which gives a true picture of Indian trade and methods, more vividly given than Carver's narratives and showing that in 1767, after about one hundred years of French missionary effort and French and English trade influences, the Algonquin Indians had resisted the absorption of what had been presented to them of good, but they had been apt pupils of the French and English traders with their European vices.

Parkman estimated that in the congregation of Indian tribes called by Rogers to the vicinity of Michillimackinac during the summer of 1767, the number of Indians exceeded 7,000, and there were representatives from every far West tribe including the Sioux—all brought together that Rogers might impress upon them the importance of English trade and friendship, but above all, with the expectation of receiving presents, valuable in the eyes of the Indians, the most important of which was rum. The picture of Indian trading, with cajoling, flattery, threats, lying by French and English, distributed throughout the Journal, has a value in depicting the early history of the Northwest.

The principal historical value of this Journal has been stated, but it is of interest to review conditions then existing and consider the Journal from other points of view. It might be stated with a fair degree of justice that at this time more might have been made of Rogers. It might be said, at least from a point of view of today, that his plan for meetings yearly of the chiefs of the great tribes of the Northwest at Michillimackinac, in the interest of peace between the tribes, the adjustment of differences between them, and the fostering of trade between the English traders and the Indians, was in all respects a plan which would lead toward general peace and good trade relations.

✓rum

Sir William Johnson advocated such a plan, but he seems to have resisted such an effort on the part of Rogers, who, it might be stated in justice to Johnson, in extravagance and magnitude far exceeded any effort in this direction that Johnson ever made. Nevertheless, there is good ground for belief that had there been any harmony between Johnson and Rogers, and had both continued in the service, a different history might be written of the Indians of the Northwest.

Rogers's plan for setting apart the Michillimackinac Post and establishing a combined civil and military Government, with the plain inference that he should be the head of both, as is quite minutely given in this Journal, was never presented to the English Board of Trade as far as any record shows, and this is fortunate, for it was a selfish motive that led him to propose it for himself. His scheme, as proposed to the Board of Trade for an appropriation of an immense sum of money for the development of trade with the Indians of the great Northwest, was a wild one for the conditions and times, and both his Government and trade plans were creations of a disordered brain, devised and mostly written in the Journal in his own handwriting, just before the climax of his quarrel with Johnson and his removal in chains to Montreal.

From this time on, what little was left of Rogers's reputation went from bad to worse. He could not be severely criticised for being a Tory at the outbreak of the Revolution, but he must be condemned for his attestations of loyalty to the Patriots. We leave him in England, in disgrace in America, where without particular notice he died in 1796.

To our knowledge this Journal was the last historical writing of any extent written by Rogers, although in a postscript to his first Journal published in 1765 he states: "It is proposed to continue this Journal in a second volume containing an account of my travels, etc." This Michillimackinac Journal he evidently in-

tended to publish, and doubtless it was written to follow his Journal of 1765.

One cannot investigate Rogers's life without a concluding feeling of pity, that such abilities, for he had abilities, and such weakness should be combined in one man. We feel that the mistrust from the beginning, and the predetermined thwarting of all Rogers's plans by Johnson and Gage, when he was assigned to Michillimackinac, notwithstanding their distrust, were not justified and probably completed the ruins of a weak moral character, which under different treatment might have been strengthened, in which event he would have fulfilled services to his Government equal to those performed during the early part of his life.

ROGERS'S MICHILLIMACKINAC JOURNAL³

A JOURNAL of Major Robert Roger's proceedings with the Indians in y^e district of MICHILLIMACKINAC Commencing the 21st of Septt 1766 & ending Feb. 1st 1767 and Continued from thence till the 23^d May—from the 29 May till July the 3^d.

THE OTTAWAS having repeatedly requested from the first of my arrival at this place, to pay them a visit at their Village at Abacroch,⁴ having given Belts to press my going—The 21st of Septemb in the morning I set out & at two of Clock in the afternoon arriv'd at their Village, having left the Command of the Garrison with Cap^{tn} Lieut. Spicemaker⁵ till my return. The Savages of that Village being all assembled immediately on my arrival made the following speech. VIZ

³ The capitalisation, spelling, abbreviations, repetitions, insertions, and incorrect sentences are all reproduced here as in the Journal. It is to be noted that in the latter part of this Journal omissions of parts of sentences are frequent and figures of cost have not been inserted. Rogers's writing at this time was frequently interrupted.

The first part of the Journal was in all probability written by his old Secretary, Potter, the middle and latter part by Rogers himself.

⁴ The village of Abacroch or La Arbor Croche was located on the East Coast of Lake Michigan, midway between Little Traverse Bay and the Straits of Mackinac. It was the largest settlement of the Ottawas. It occupied the site of the present Cross Village.

⁵ F. C. Spicemacher was Cap't 2nd, 2nd Batt'n 60th Reg. and was always a firm friend, during all his troubles, of Rogers. Potter, Rogers's Secretary, frequently misspells his name as he does many other words, it must be noted.

FATHER

WE THE CHIEFS of the OTTAWAS in the presence of our young Warriors now acquaint you, that we shall be still fast, & ever continue as fast freinds to the English, but have heard & are certain that there is bad birds flying from the West side of the Missisipi to this part of the World, & some of them are already from the Potowatomas of St. Joseph. This Man present pointing to an Indian has seen nine Branches of Wampum sent to that place by Monsieur de Ange^d, or the officier that commands the uppermost Post on the West side of the Missisipi, which strings of Wampum imports that two thousand French have arrived at the mouth of that River, & in the Spring are to come this way as soon as they take the English Fort at the Illinois, & reduce Michillimackinac & then to proceed to Detroit, from thence down to Niagara, till they meet a large Army, that they heard is to land at New York, and reduce the Country, this the French our old Fathers says, they can do with great ease, as the English people are divided in America, & more than one half of them will join the French. This FATHER we had a desire to tell this to you at our own Village, where there are not any French that can hear us speak, & for that reason, we desired you to come hither, & bring an English Interpreter with you, which we see you have done, & we now, desire you to tell in the Truth, whether there is such an Army coming or not, & to acquaint S^r. William Johnson and the General of what we have said; as you have lately come from the other side the great Lake and tell us you receive your orders from S^r. William Johnson of every thing that may concern us & at Michillimackinac, the other day you told us that from you we might expect to hear the truth, Now tell us the truth that we may know it early, if it is as we have heard, the Ottawas to one Man; will Join against the French, & are all ready to go when ever we are called to keep back that Party if its coming.

MAJOR ROGER'S ANSWER with giving two Ratteen Coats two shirts to the Two Principal Chiefs, & twenty gallons of Rum to the whole Village. Brothers You greatly astonish me by your Speech, is it possible that such romantick foolish

^d Monsieur St. Ange, Commandant at Fort St. Louis.

stories as those can enter into the Brain of an Ottawa, & give credit to it! Whose studiness have been so long known & whom I have lately recommended for it to S^r. William Johnson of

GIVING A BELT

I tell you now, that the French have not one inch of Ground on the West side of the Misisipi, for they have some some time ago chang'd thier Lands that they had at that Place, with the Spaniards, which is a set of people, that you well know are mortal Enemies to Indians in general. Look Back? have not your Fathers told you & have you not heard, from your Old men, what those people did to your Countrymen when they first came to America, to those of you who liv'd towards the hottest part of the day, & the coolest Climate of the Evening; their Gold & Silver they pour'd when melted like water, by hot fire down thier Throats; think of this deceit, you cannot sure believe, afterwards, what such people will say to you, for the stories you have told of are all false. Send some of your young men to Misisipi, this Winter & you'll find what I say is Truth; there can be no Troops landed in America amongst our settlements, Our ships are much superior to the French & Spaniards shou'd they both join together & on the other hand all the English in America and The french in Canada are subjects to the Great KING of ENGLAND Your Father

DELIVERED another Belt to the Chiefs

THIS BELT is to desire you, when on Your Winters hunt to find out those nine Strings of Wampum you mentioned, & bring them to me in the Spring, that I may acquaint S^r. William Johnson who will let the great KING OF ENGLAND your Father, know all your Proceedings

A STRING OF WAMPUM

Be strong & wise behave like men & dont fall like a foolish Child into the fire, I now bid Adieu to you, till I shall see you in the Spring at Michillimackinac, by that time you will be convinced from your Young Men, that you are to send to the Misisipi, that there's no such thing as your French Fathers, ever coming up the Misisipi with Troops while Water runs in that River.

The same evening I arrived at Michillimackinac, from thier Village at ten O'Clock.

Sept^r. the 26th.

THIS day assembled a party of the CHIPPAWAS under the great Chief of the Island, The Grand Sable

MADE the following speech.

Father we are all glad & Rejoice at the fire of friendship, that was kindled here some Years ago by the English and Brighten'd, the other day at this place, when we met you last. We all tell you, that we are desirous, that the Chain of Friendship may kept bright between us, & the English, but there is bad birds flying about, & one of them has left this Belt in our Village, Showing a Belt, came from the Indians to the West side of Lake Michigan to us last fall, to be ready to strike the English, when they call'd on us & we have had ever since But not finding that the English are men that speak *that speak* the truth. We believe that others have told lies, We give this belt up & beg that you will acquaint our Father S^r. William Johnson of what we have done & that though we were foolish some time ago; we have now come to our Senses, hope the great Master of Sight, will keep our hearts, & the hearts of our young Men in good Humour, with our Fathers the English

A SMALL STRING OF WAMPUM

FATHER We are told by the Indians, from the Westward that the French are coming next Spring from the Misisipi to take this Fort, some of our Young Men is gone to see if it be truth, but you no doubt can tell us the the truth of this: This is all we have to say, only beg that we may not be despised, while other Nations are carressed And we are poor & beg Charity

MAJOR ROGER'S ANSWER

MY BROTHERS. By giving up this bad Belt amongst you, may be some means of recommending you, to your Great Father the KING OF ENGLAND & S^r. William Johnson the General, for the great injuries you did him, when you cut of this Fort & Murderd the KINGS Subjects, without any reason or provocation; nothing but a steady behavoir from you, with fast Attachments to the English; will now recommend you, so that That blot will be clean wip'd away; You have been

fools, but now if you turn out wise men, so that I can recommend you, for Your good Behavior, no doubt but you'll be again look on with an Eye of Pity & Compassion by, Your great Father the KING OF ENGLAND and St. William Johnson, I will acquaint him of your Behaviour as early as I can in the spring and your happiness depends entirely on your future Conduct.

As to what you have heard of French Fathers coming up the Misissipe, is only contrived to make you guidy headed, by some French Villians, which always told you lies, I wonder you have not more sense, than to believe a people that has always deceiv'd you: the French had, three or four Years ago; some lands at the West side the Misissipi, but it was chang'd away by your Old Fathers to a people call'd the Spaniards employed some of them in their service, knowing that they understood the Indian language, & were fit Instrumets to make You always uneasy & it's from that these very Officers, that you have all those stories told you. The Spaniards are the people, that murdied so many Indians to the South West, of where you live, & now they want to desire you, & get you in thier Power All this you'll find to be true, when your Young men returns that are gone to the Misissipe

A STRING OF WAMPUM

BEHAVE like men & return in the Spring to this Place, & let me hear all that passes. Nothing can recommend you more than to make your Reports to me.

THAT I may have it in power to recommend you, if you behave well.

WOUND up the discourse, & giving three Ratteens Coats, three Callimance Gowns, four Shirts, six pounds of Powder, twenty pounds of Shott, & Ball, twenty four pounds of Tobacco, & sixteen gallons of Rum, immediately this Party went off, satisfied, to their hunting Ground.

AT MICHILLIMACKINAC the 10th. of October 1766

At ten ° in the morning Arrived one of MINCHEWABAS & fourteen Chiefs of the OTTAWAS, Assembled with above one hundred Men from the Grand River, mad the Following Speech. **VIZ:**

GIVING A BEAVER BLANKET. FATHER. This is given you to set upon, without fear; And we are all of one mind & that

nothing suffer'd to enter our Hearts to disturb your ease, while you stay at this Post.

MAJOR ROGERS's Answer, Brothers, I thank you for this Visit, and for the Bed you have given me, to set easy upon, I shall preserve it, & keep it, as witness to what You have said to me, GIVING a BELT, Your Great Father he has sent me

GIVING a BELT. Your Great Father, has sent me to Command, this Fort and from Sir Will^m Johnson; I recieve all my Orders, & beg that you would behave like men & not mind idle stories, & while you continue, to be wise, You will always be esteem'd, & protected by the English, & I always will communicate, every thing to You, that I know of, that may concern You. And expect, that you will let me hear, every thing, that passes amongst you, that it may be communicated to him as soon as possible. I desire You to consider, & think, what news you have to tell in the afternoon, & then come & let me, know it

At two OClock in the afternoon, The Indians & Chiefs above mention'd assemble'd & Spoke as follows: Viz

FATHER. We are now tell You, what news we have heard, Open your Ear, & hear it.

THERE is nine Strings of Wampum from the west side of the Misissipe that are sent by our Old Fathers, the French, & tell us the following news, Viz

ANSWER. BROTHERS. Keep to your words, & the trust that I at present, imagine you to be sincere: And you will be a Happy people, As the French King, has at last, waked out of his deep sleep, with Eyes sparking, like a Tygar, & has taken a Resolution, to tread the English, under his feet, & for that purpose, has sent a large Fleet, to Quebec, & that two thousand Men have alreay landed, at the mouth of the Misissipe: And early in the Spring, will take the English Fort, at the Illinois And from thence are coming with Cannon, to take Michilimackinac, they have Desire'd us, to be ready & assist them.

THIS FATHER is what have heard, & we are now going to our hunting for the Winter, & in the Spring we shall return. We have heard what you have told us today, & shall remember it, & will take the Advise Our Father & S^r. William Johnson; but we are poor & hope you will take pity on us, we are in

great want of Powder & Shott, & have nothing to Cover us, from the Cold, have pity on us & open Your Heart, for we are happy to warm ourselves at your fire. This day all Our Warriors rejoices, as well as Women & Children to find fair weather; & beg Charity

We leave you tomorrow morning, & desire that anything you have to say may immediately finish'd.

MAJOR ROGERS'S Answer, with the following Presents—

Eight stroud Blankets, eight pair of Leggins, eight breech Clouts, twelve ratteen Coats, twelve Callimanco Gowns, fourteen Shirts, sixty Pounds of Powder, one hundred and fifty pounds of Shott, four hundred Gun flints, seventy eight pounds of Tobacco, three pounds of Vermillion, twenty-four Gallons of Rum, & fourteen lac'd Hats.

BROTHERS, THERE is a present for you, mention'g the Articles. The Powder will be sufficient for your present Use, & as there is a number of traders, gone out to winter before I arrivd at this post, you cannot miss of having plenty of supplies, during the Winter, those people you must use like Brothers, & not let them home in the Spring, with tears in thier Eyes, if any of them use You ill, report them to me in the Spring, & any wrong done You, shall be Redress't.

WHEN I think of what you say about your Old Fathers, I cannot help laughing; & am sorry at the same time to see you foolish, as to mind any such lies as passing among the French, for they have not any Land at all on the West side of the Misissipe, what they formerly had, they have chang'd away to the Spaniards And the Spaniards have sent a Gov^r. there. The people do still remain, but they are by no means the Subjects of Your Old Father, the French King.

Send some of your young men, this Winter, to the Illinois & when you return, You will Then know from them, that I have told You the truth; & at this Place, you may always expect to hear it: Take up them Strings of Wampum if possible, you can this Winter and let me have them in the Spring, that I may report them to S^r. William Johnson. And anything that may concern You, will always be communicated to you, by S^r. William Johnson, that may be necessary for you to

know & you may depend on hearing the truth But your Old French Fathers you are not to mind for the future. & doth not own one foot of Land on this Continent, they cannot land Troops at Quebec as our ships are many more than theirs & we could burn & take all thier ships at sea, were they to be such fools to think of sending Troops in them to America I am well assur'd they never Attempt.

OCTOBER the 15th. 76. The Speech of two Chiefs of the Chippawas assembled at Michillimackinac and eighty men all bound to the Bay, their Wintering place.

FATHER. We are come this day to smoke a pipe with you & give you hands, listen & hear us

GIVING a string of Wampum, This String is to bind our hands to Yours, so fast, that nothing can untie them.

WE are poor people, but our hearts are sincere & no guile in them, we beg Charity & hope you will give us something to Cover our Women & Children & as it is first time that we ever see you, beg that you will give us a little Milk, to drink for we are both hungry & Poor, & have not any Powder or Shott, we hope you will have pity on us & give Charity, eight of our Young people have lately died, & we hope you will give us something to wipe away our Tears from our Eyes, we also beg for Charity.

MAJOR ROGERS's Answer attending it with the following Speech VIZ. PRESENTS, eight blankets of strouds, six Coats, twelve Shirts, ten Pounds of Gunpowder, twenty pounds of Ball, one pound of Vermillion, five Gallons of Rum & And two laced Hatts.

MAJOR ROGERS's Answer attending with the before mentioned Presents. BROTHERS I have hear'd what you have said, & am glad that your Hearts are right, & hope you will keep them so & your Father S^r. William Johnson from whom I receive all my orders concerning you, has desir'd me to tell you to behave like men & assures you, he wishes you all well & hopes that you'll be strong, & not mind idle stories, or bad Birds, that may at any time pass your Village, or at your Winter hunting places, & While you behave well, S^r. William Johnson will communicate anything to you that may Concern You, & at this place you may be assur'd, that the truth will

always be told you there is something for you, pointing to the Presents. There is something for you, to bury your dead & wipe away the tears, & some powder & shott, to assist you till you reach your hunting Ground, when you will find traders plenty, that were gone there, before my Arrival, from whom you'll purchase anything you may have Occassion for, with your Skins, I desire & so doth your father S^r. William Johnson that you will not send the traders away with tears in their Eyes, but use them well in every respect, if any of them are foolish & use you ill let me know of it in the Spring, you may be very certain that I will see your grieviances Redresst.

THEIR Answer we thank you for the Charity you have shown us and are greatly oblig'd to you, for covering the dead bodies of our relations, we will mind everything that you have told us, & lay it up in our Hearts. No traders that are gone away before you came Amongst us, shall meet with any hurt from us, but we cannot be answerable only for ourselves, We will return in the Spring & all bad birds that pases us you shall know in the Spring, so fare well.

OCTOB^r. 25th Afternoon the Ottawas of the Islands of Beaver in Lake Michigan assembled at Michillimackinac & bound to thier hunting at Green Bay made the following speech, Viz FATHER We are now come to let you know we are going to our hunting Grounds, & every thing is quiet amongst us, & beg Charity, we have niether Powder or Shott, & beg that you wou'd have Compassion on us

MAJOR ROGERS'S ANSWER

BROTHERS I am sorry that I have heard YOU OTTAWA's of the Island are not a good sett *of people* it was own Nation that acquainted me of your ill intentions to take the Goods from the traders at the expence of every Indian on the Islands. Your own nation & the Chippiwias both will join me, in it, I am a Man that come out of the middle of the Ground, & if you do the least hurt either to french or English, that is gone from this Fort, before I came to it, with their goods, the first sight you shall have of me, will be surrounding your Cabbins with a Bloody Hatchet, & all the Indians in this part of Country at my side.

The Indians hung their heads for some time, & at last, made the following speech *Viz*.

FATHER we acknowledge that we had an intention to take some of the traders goods this winter, without leave, & it is the french that lives in this fort that told us to do it, we are sorry that ever such thoughts should ever enter our hearts, & hopes you will forgive us, as we have not done anything to them, nether will we hurt them, the french told us that they ran away & it was no harm to take their goods, more fools to mind them, & are glad that you spoke to us & put wisdom in our heads, we were fools and beg you will forgive us.

MAJOR ROGERS'S REPLY who are the frenchmen, that told you to take the Traders goods.

OTTAWA'S ANSWER, some that are here and others that have gone to La Bay with thier families, who said they would help us to take away their goods & that they should have part of it, we beg you will forgive us as it is not our faults

We are very poor & have neither Powder or Ball to carry us to our hunting Ground, forgive us, & have pity on us, that we may live & be happy & we will always do as you desire us for the future, take Compassion us

MAJOR ROGERS'S ANSWER

You scarcely deserve the least Pity, but as you have so solemnly promis'd to behave better for the future, if you will bring me in those frenchmen to this Fort in the Spring that told you to plunder the Boats that went from here, unhurt with out taking anything from them to this Place: I then will think of your miserable Situation, which your own folly has brought upon yourselves.

OTTAWAS of the Islands Speech *Viz* The men you mention, shall be brought to you in the spring unhurt, & not any of thier goods, shall be taken from them. we are ashamed to speak to you, for we have been fools, but we'll do better for the future & take your advice at all times, beg you'll forgive us & have Charity, for we are poor & have no Powder or Shott

MAJOR ROGERS'S ANSWER *VIZ*

I will trust you for this time only, but remember what I now tell you, if ever you do any mischief for the future, it will be

hard terms for you, I will write to S^r. William Johnson about you.

it may be: that he will forgive you but that depends entirely on your future Conduct, he has order'd me to tell you that all the Indians he wishes well. And desires them to be wise & not to listen to foolish stories. Whiles't you continue to do that he will always Esteem & desire peace all over the world. I give you here a little Powder & Ball, though hardly deserve anything at all but as you'd promised to be for the future & bring the french to me. I give you eight Blankets of Stouds, two shirts, nineteen pounds of Gun Powder thirty-eight pounds of Ball, one pound of Vermillion, eight Gallons of rum & one Laced Hatt.

OTTAWAS Went of directly with expressing one further that thier Intentions were good & that their future Conduct should be better.

NOVEMBER the 5 : 1766 Two Chiefs of St. Marys with thirty of thier men call'd at this post on thier way to their wintering Place & spoke as follows Viz

FATHER We have come to see you this day to tell you that we rec'd your speech by Cadetts & thank you & S^r. William Johnson for your good Advice, we will behave like men for we have not any sick people amongst us, neither do we mind bad birds, we are English in our hearts & have call'd to see You this day to give you our hands & beg Charity we are poor & going to our hunting

MAJOR ROGERS'S ANSWER VIZ with following Presents Eight blankets of strouds, one pair of Leggins, one coat, one Gown, one breech Clout one Callimanco Gown, six shirts, six pounds of Gun powder, twelve pounds of Shott, one pound of Vermillion, six Gallons of Rum & one Lac'd Hatt.

BROTHERS I am glad to hear that everything is clear & smooth mind & Keep it so & you will always be happy: I wish you a happy winter & shall acquaint S^r. William Johnson of your good Intentions, So farewell.

NOVEMB^r: the 10th. 1766 A CHIEF of the Misisagas arriv'd at Michillimackinac with twenty Indians who reported his Expedition as follows Viz.

FATHER We are just return'd from an expedition against the Sioux, we set out last Summer with the Party you now see here, & pass'd St. Marys, from thence to Point Chigemegan, we then went to the West end of Lake Superior, where we left our Canoes & travell'd Westward till we cross'd the Misisipi from thence towards the Sunsetting, till at last we heard a Gun, which we immagin'd to be the Sioux, which we intended to attack, we sent out spies in the Evening & found that they were a large Body & much superior to us & for fear we should be discovered before morning we retreated that night, & made all the haste we possibly cou'd, till we came to the west end of Lake Superior where we embarked in our Cannoes & returned to this Place & we are now bound to our hunting Ground for the Winter & have Call'd to see you & hope you will have Pity on us, for we are greatly fatigued

MAJOR ROGERS'S ANSWER

GIVING The following Presents VIZ. Eight blankets of stroud, two pair of Leggins, two Coats, one Gown for the Wife of the Chief, two shirts, one pound of Vermillion, six Gallons of Rum to the whole Party & one lac'd Hatt to the Chief.

BROTHERS this present I give although, you have done wrong & acted like fools by fighting against your Brothers the Seoux

A BELT of three hundred WAMPUM.

By this belt I now tell you, that I am sent to this Place by your Great Father the KING OF ENGLAND & St. William Johnson & have orders from him to tell You, that he has a genneral Esteem for you all, desires that you would behave like men and be wise & that while you do that you may be certainly be assur'd of His friendship.

LOOK at the BELT, when you strike the Seoux you strike the English also, for have given them our hands & they trade with us, therefore for the future, You must never go to war against those people without letting St. William Johnson know your designs & he will always tell you if he approves of it, or if you tell me, as I am order'd to make all reports to him, I shall write to him on the subject, when I get his Answer you shall be inform'd of his Sentiments.

Go to your hunting ground & in the spring, I woud recommend it to you, to go to your Village & plant your Corn, for the next & it is the desire of the great KING & S^r. W Johnson that all the world of Indians shou'd live in peace with with the English. I cannot but think you are men of more sense than think for the future of any attempt of Hostilities, against the Seox, as they are brothers to us & by this Belt I stop the road

ANSW^r. We will observe it, & thank you for your advice, for the future we will not go to War without leave & will be always ready when you order us, or when we receive orders from S^r. W^m. Johnson, we thank you for your present, & are joyfull that you have taken Pity on us, Adieu.

DECEMB: The 12: A Misissaga Chief arriv'd from La Baye & reported as follows VIZ

LAST fall I went to the Misissipe & was at the English fort at the Illinois but did not arrive till after Mr Croghan, that speaks truth to the Indians had gone to Philidephia, but I heard many Lies & am sorry for it, the French told me that I shou'd have a flag from them, but I got none, I was angry & went up the Misissipe in a Cannoe, & a few days after Lewis Constant, in a another Cannoe followed me & landed there & the people in the Cannoe told me that two thousang french had arriv'd at New Orleans & in the spring was to cut of that Fort, there, which belongs to the English & early next Spring woud attack Michillimackinac with Cannon.

MAJOR ROGERS'S ANSWER VIZ.

BROTHERS You do very well to tell me what news you have heard, for they have chang'd away their Land they had to to the Spaniards, & have not any Ground, on the West side of Misissipi. You tell me the news I suppose with a design to Get some rum. I give you this charge at the same time, & tell you I think it a bad way to get drink; by telling french stories for I know that what they have told you is Lies

GIVING him & his Party a pair of Leggins, a breech Clout, one Coat, two linnen Shirts, three Gallons of rum, & a laced Hatt

DESIRING him to go to his winter hunting & to behave like men & never think of listening stories for the future.

JANUARY the 22^d. 1767. A poor Savage of the Ottawas came from the Mission being left behind sick with a token from the Ottawa Chiefs of the Village at abacroach begging assistance.

GAVE him the following Articles VIZ.

Two shirts, two pounds of Powder, six pounds of Shott, & one gallon of Rum, to carry to his Family.

PROCEEDING of Major Roger's with the Indians from the 2^d of Feby to y^e 23^d of May 1767.

The 11th. of March 76 Sent by M^r. Henry a flag for the Indians Village at S^t. Marys, he deliver'd me a french flag that had been in thier possession ever since the french had posses'd this Country.

22^d. of March, Deliver'd to the Chief of S^t. Mary's & a party of his men that came with fresh provisions for the use of the Troops —two pounds of Gun powder, six pounds of Shott, two pounds of Tobbacco & two Gallons of rum

THIS CHIEF brought no news, but came intentionally to to sever the Garrission, he enquir'd very strictly what had pass'd, in the winter, with the Ottawa's, & what news came from S^r. William Johnson since Cadot⁷ had left this Garrission, that he had Recc'd the message that was sent by him, & that himself & all his young men wou'd observe what had been told them

ANSWER. I told them that every thing was Quiet down the Country, that I had no news from the Ottawas, & that I did not expect to hear from them till the Lake was was open that might come in thier Cannoes, but when he returned the next Spring, I did not doubt that I shou'd have news to tell him & recommended it to him & his Party to behave well, & that every thing which might concern them they shou'd know the next time they came.—Next morning this Indian and his Party left the Garrission.

MARCH 23^d THE double look'd Indian came from the grand river, with some fresh provisions on a slay, which was sent for the Troops in the Garrisson, he said he but little news and that the Chiefs to whom he belong'd had not sent my young men

⁷ Cadot was a French Canadian and trader. He had erected for himself a fort upon land owned by him near Sault Ste. Marie. He was not disturbed after the English occupation of Fort Michillimackinac.

from thier hunting during the winter, but at the time they left the Fort last fall they had detatch'd four of thier young Warriors to the Illinois to hear the News that was going there. Gave him three gallons of Rum & the next morning, he set out on his return to the Great Chief at the Grand Sable Island the Party which he belong'd to.

MARCH 30th COMISHIMEGAN a Chief of the Chippewas came from Cheboigan and one In a dean with his wife and son from Thunder Bay, and brought a Quantity of fresh meat for the use of the Garrison, but no news as they had not seen any Indians during the winter

GAVE them two pound of Tobbacco & three Gallons of rum. Next morning they set out for thier hunting houses telling me they woud soon return with more meat.

MARCH 30th In the evening Arriv'd a Chief of the Misisagas from Thunder Bay with fresh meat for the Garrison & next deliver'd a slay load of Moose & Elk, Gave him one bed gown two shirts, two pounds of Powder & two Gallons of Rum the second day of April he went away.

APRIL 6th An Indian with friendship came from Comishisemagan at Chebeoigan with news that his Chief & two others was very sick & not able to hunt & beg'd for a little Rum to cure them, & as they were all to come on very soon, he beg'd for a little vermillion to paint themselves & has they had brought in a great deal of fresh meat during the spring, hoped that they might not be denied, & that they had some news, but thier Chiefs desir'd Them not to tell it till they came themselves.

GAVE them one pound of Gun Powder three pound of Shott, one pound of Vermillion, two pound of Tobbacco, & two Gallons of Rum; this Indian return'd the same day.

APRIL 13th. Sent M^{rs}. Cardin a frenchwoman to Abacroach to find out what the Indians were about, as I hear'd that a number of them, had assembled & it had been represented to me that there bad intentions amongst them. I gave her three gallons of rum to talk privately with them, & find out thier designs

M^{rs}. Cardin return'd a few days afterwards, & inform'd me that the Indians was not ill dispos'd against the English, but

had an intention of going to war against the Seaux, & that by arguing them persuaded them from it, till thier Chiefs arriv'd & shoud speak to thier Father concerning the meaning of thier Expedition.

THE same day Comishimegan arrived, with his party & a string of wampum from his Brother Petowiskcom another Chief of the Chippiwias, and inform'd me that La Force or Sasowaket, had taken a belt sent him by the French, from the other side the Misissipe by Mon^r. St. Onge, & they were desir'd to hold themselves in readiness to strike the English, as soon as thier old Father the French shoud give them notice, to declare a War, & denied, that he knew if there was any likelihood of a War between the french & English I GAVE them this Answer, their is no such thing at present as any War between the french & English & I have often told you that the french cou'd not get into North America, as they had given all thier Lands in Canada to the English & the french where now the Subjects of the Great King of England, & that land which they posses'd on the west side of the Misissipi, was Chang'd away with the Spaniards for an Island a great distance from this Country: If any bad belts was sent as you have inform'd me, they must have been given by some Renegade Frenchman, who have no right to speak to Indians about publick affairs, & if the Ottawas has taken belts I am certain it with no other view, than to give them to me as soon as they arrive here, as they themselves will laugh at such folly for they know better than to believe such idle reports.

GAVE them the following present, part being for Petowisham One linnen shirt, two pounds of gun Powder, four pounds of Shott, two pounds of Tobbacco, two gallons & a half of Rum. Desiring them to go back to thier hunting at Chebiogan & make themselves easy till the Ottawa's arriv'd, when they shoud hear more about the belt which they were told off, & that I should let them know every thing that Passd between me & the Chippiwias concerning it.

In the morning these Indians went away well satisfied, that the french woud not bring troops to this Country.

In the evening Michecoweeke a Misissaga Indian Chief, & his party arrivd at this Fort without any news or provisions

his main purpose was to beg, & stay'd till the 27th.; during which time I gave him & his party two pounds of tobacco & two gallons of rum. MICHECOWEEK on his return from Michillimackinac met Kecowaskin & came back with him next day. Kecowaskin brought about thirty Indians with him they all stay'd here till the 1st of May, From him I had the following Speech Viz

LISTEN & hear what I am going to say.

I have had a melancholly winter, one of my sons is dead & all my Family are in tears for his loss, I hope you will give me something to wipe away the tears from eyes & something to bury the dead, Shewing his Cartiscock, or Commission, that he had for his firm Attachment to the English & said when that was shewn he was always to have what ever he ask'd for

GAVE him a stroud Blanket & one linnen Shirt to bury his Son & between the time of his Arrival & the fourth of May, Eleven gallons of rum, & when they were going away one pound of Paint, by which I got rid of this beggarly tribe

MAY the 5th An Indian left sick at the Mission arrivd, poor hungry, & Naked, I gave him gave him one half gallon of Rum, one pound of tobacco, with some victuals

The 8th A Band of Chippewas, arrivd from hunting thirty in number, gave them half a Pound of paint & one gallon & a half of rum, on which they went to thier Village on the Island of Michillimackinac to wait the Arrival of thier Chiefs & the remainder of thier Village, the Indians differed mentioning news till thier Chiefs arrivd.

8th to y^e 11th. M^r Carden & M^r Seely were employ'd as spies on a party of Indians at Sheboigan, who were assembled there, about a hundred in number & as I was informd with no good intent. These people return'd on the 11th with an Account that these Indians had no bad intentions against the English, but were going to war against the Soux, & they had stopp'd there till all thier Chiefs shoud come in & Acquaint me of thier Intentions, for provisions & thier expences, I paid them twelve pounds eighteen shillings.

May 13th Sasawaket or La force the Chief of the Ottawas at Abercroach, sent three of his young men to let me know that he was arrivd at his Village, & that he had a medal & bill from

Sr. William Johnson as a token, for a four gallon Keg of rum & some tobacco, that he might taste a little of his fathers Milk to clear the brains of his young Warriors, with that, & the smoke of some tobacco so that thier hearts & Actions might be just & right.

I gave the Messenger four gallons & five pounds of tobacco.

15th The Chief of Lacloch return'd with his band from his winter's hunting on his way to his Village AND SPOKE as follows VIZ Father we have call'd to see you on our way to our Village & to let you know what has pass'd during the winter on the side of the Puans Bay

The foxes & fallivines are gone to war with the Illinois Indians, & are joind by some of the Puans, they were to set out about the time we came from thence we hear that the Chippiwias at Point Chigomegan & some of the Christinos, & Ashinoboins have joined in a body to go to war against the Soux This is all the news we have worth your notice We have call'd to day to tell you what we have heard, & hope as we are just passing, you, that you will have Charity & five us a little milk to drink & some Tobacco:

I thank'd the Indians for thier intelligence & ask'd some other Questions, about the traders THEY told me that were all well & safe on that side of the Country. I gave them one gallon of Rum, & three Pounds of Tobacco, on which the Party went of to thier Village well satisfied.

A BAND of the island Chippiwias arrivd at this Place with one of thier Chiefs but gave no intelligence, as thier whole Village had not come in, I gave them one gallon of Rum, four Pounds of Tobacco, five pounds of Powder & four pounds of Shott to kill me some Geese & Ducks, which they promised to bring me.

May 10th Sosawaket, or Laforce arrivd at this Fort with about two hundred of the Ottawa's and spoke as follows VIZ

FATHER I am at length got back after having a difficult winters hunting. I have brought those strings of Wampum you spoke to me about last fall here is five of them delivering the strings to you. These strings of Wampum came from the West side of the Misissipe, inviting all the Indians to go there with thier furs & Peltry to trade with thier old fathers, they likewise desir'd as not to strike the English at present nor hurt

any whatever of the traders, but to be ready when call'd upon.

These are all I could get of these strings. the other four are gone to La Bay. I have sent Shawanes to find them & bring them to you, but we are all dry, & all my young men are thirsty & as you saluted us with Cannon when we Arriv'd, we expect now to be saluted with the Bottle On which I gave them a dram a piece

SOSAWAKET or La force I have not much news to tell you, all is that the Chippewas & Crees are gone to War against the Seoux from the west End & north side of Lake Superior, & the Foxes & Malomones & Puans are gone to War with the Illinois, the Potowatomies, are at difference among themselves, two Villages of them have done one another some mischief, four men have been kill'd, this is all the news I have the Ottawa's that we sent to the Illinois last fall are not yet return'd, when they come in you shall have all the news that we receive by them. We will always take the advice of the English & observe what you have told us last fall. You see that the traders that was with us are all return'd safe there has not been one of them wrong'd, & every man of them has had plenty of meat to live on, all winter they were not hungry while in our Country they have had all thier Credit paid ask them, we have brought them in with on purpose to tell you this before your face

The Traders which winter'd with the Ottawa's confirmed what they said We are now come to see you & desire that you will not disapoint us, we are very dry for some of your milk, two large Barrels is not more than sufficient to give us a taste, therefore, we all ask that, & as we have always behaved well, we hope that you will not refuse us. Some of our people are dead & we desire something to cover them that we may return to Village & not weep for we are not come this time to stay with you, but shall go back this very day. Therefore what we ask for we desire to have Immediately that we may return. When we see Sr. W^m. Johnson last & settled Peace with him at NIAGARA he told us that when we shew this great belt we never refus'd anything we demanded by that that token for reason, & as what we have asked for at present, is but little, therefore we hope you will not deny us of it: this is all we have to say.

ANSWER I will giye you something to cover the Bodies of your dead & you have behav'd well in taking & bringing in to me those strings of Wampum. You shall also have a little rum to drink after you have done Crying for your deceased Relations, but I have not so much as you ask for therefore you must be contented Contented with life **GAVE** them four stroud Blankets, three pair of Leggins, two breech Clouts, one Coat, four shirts, & Eleven pounds of Tobbacco, this cloathing is to cover your dead, & the Tobbacco to smoke over them & here is one pound of Vermillion & twenty nine gallons of Rum that you may take with you, this is to wipe away your tears & dress your faces, & make you joyfull & glad: when your mourn-is finish'd I will write to S^r. W^m. Johnson, who will acquaint the Great **KING OF ENGLAND** your father, on the other side of the Great **LAKE** of your good behaviour, it gives me pleasure that I can write to S^r. William that you behaved well to the traders And have paid them those Credits

THE OTTAWAS ANSWER VIZ

We thank you Father, we thank S^r. W^m. Johnson we thank the Good & the Great **KING OF ENGLAND** for having taking notice of us, we are always ready to assist the English when ever they call on us we are now going to our Village & shall wait there till our young men Return from the Illinois which we expect in a few days, when we will return & tell you any thing father, that we may know, & hopes you will consider our Old men & Women & our little Children, that cannot hunt & give them something to cover them from the Cold, & that the Chiefs of the Village of Ottawa's may be cloath'd, as they take most of thier time in serving the English, & keeping peace, among all the Nations, as they cannot so much as they other-wise would, therefore we hope when we return again that you will cloath them all, which will make us think that you have a regard for us, this is all we have to say at present, our hearts are clean & white as Snow farewell

May 21st **MINETAWABA** from the grand River arrived with about one hundred men & Spoke as follows **VIZ**

We are come to see you this spring & have brought the traders with us in safety, that was along with us, we now

deliver them & thier Peltry to you, there has been none of them hurt, the goods they sold us are all paid for, all the strings of Wampum that came to us we have deliver'd to Laforce, or Sasawaket who came before us, & he told us as we pass'd the Village of Abacroach that he had given them to you, so we will never throw a stumbling block in the smooth ways that are open'd for us by the English, all bad birds that passes us shall be beat to death, I have brought three Old men with me, who was once chiefs in our nation, they are not able to hunt for cloths to cover thier Bodies, I beg that you will give them some Cloaths & something for our young men to drink & a little Tobbacco, that we may go to our Brothers at Abacroach were we intend to stay till our young men return from the Illinois & then come altogether to see you, I hope you will have Charity on us

GAVE them two Blankets of strouds, two pair of Leggins, three Breech Clouts, three linnen shirts, three pounds of Gun Powder & eight pounds of Shott for thier Old men, ten pounds of Tobbacco, two pound of Vermillion & thirty gallons of rum for thier Party, telling them that I woud write to Sr. W^m. Johnson as soon as possible & tell him of thier good intentions & that the great King of England wou'd always hear of thier good Actions when ever they did any

May 23^d Arrivd Minetewaba & his band at Michillimackinac from the grand River & spoke as follows Viz

I have brought my young men with me to smoke a pipe with you & to assure you that everything Quiet on our side of the Country. I beg as I have a great number of my young men with me, that you will give me a Cannoe loaded with rum to carry back to Abocroach where we are going to hold a a Councill with our Brothers the Ottawa's & something to cover our Old men & Womens. I gave him two stroud Blankets, two pair of Leggins, three breech Clouts, the linnen shirts, three pounds & a half of Gun Powder, eight pound of Shott, & one half pound of Tobbacco, one pound of Vermillion with two eight Gallon Kegs of rum, Withe the following Answer
VIZ

I HAVE heard what you have said & approve of your going to Abocroach to speak to your Brothers to hear what has pass'd

during the Winter, & what news your young men brings in from any of the Forts, they have visited, I would be glad that the Chiefs of both the Villages wou'd come here, & you may send your Young men home, or leave them at Abocroach till after the Council is over, as the Chiefs can communicate any thing Material to the young men & after you tell me all you have hear'd during the Winter, I will speak to you & if I get any news from S^r. W^m. Johnson that concerns you, it shall then be told you.

MINETEWABA'S ANSWER

We thank you for the trifle you have given our old men & Women to cover them from the Cold, & for the paint, tobacco & Rum, that we may light our pipes with it, but the rum is not half enough for one taste a piece, all my young men are Joyfull today, & I expected rum enough to make them merry & I beg you will not make them asham'd, but let us have at least a Cannoe load that we may drink heartily of our Fathers milk Showing his medals & certificate that he had from S^r. W^m. Johnson & other officers when this medal was given me, I was told whenever I shew it, that nothing wou'd be denied: and now in the name of all my young Warriors, I ask for a Cannoe load of Rum

I told them that S^r. W^m. Johnson had a great regard for them, but that he never expected that they would ask any thing unreasonable, when they show'd thier medals as it was never intended any persons shou'd have presents, but when they deserv'd it by their good behaviowr & that I thought the Rum they had was full sufficient

MINETEWABA'S ANSWER Do not my Father let us be asham'd, I told all my young men to come here & speak to thier father, & told them that they might be assur'd of at least a Canoe load of rum, therefore let us have it & don't make us asham'd

GAVE them two more kegs of rum & spoke as follows VIZ

This is all that you shall have of me, & had I more as I have but little rum I wou'd not give it you. go with this to Abocroach & make yourselves Joyfull & take care that you behave properly till I see you again, On which Minetewaba & his Party went off.

MAY 23^d FOUR Chiefs of the Chippewa's arriv'd with about one hundred men of their people, some of them belong'd to the Island & others, dispers'd up & down on Lake Superior, & the Lake Huron; they had little to say & had hear'd no material news, but beg'd that I woud show them Charity as they were very poor, & had bad success in hunting. They desir'd something to cover them & some Rum; Gave them two breech clouts, one linnen shirt one Coat, two pound of Tobbacco, thirteen gallons of Rum, & one pound & a half of Paint on which they departed, to begin thier trade with the Merchants; & left thier rum in Charge till they were going away.

May 23^d GAVE M^r. Henry Morch & dekyser, six Gallons of Rum, & five pounds of Tobbacco, to set up the Flag at the Indian Village at S^t. Marys.

Do 23^d Laforce, or Sosowaket with five principal Chiefs of their Village, arriv'd with some dry'd meat, which they made a present of to the soldiers, in return I gave thier young men two pounds of Powder, & sixty pounds of Ball, five coats to the five Principall Chiefs on which the Indians returnd to thier Village.

[From this part of the Journal to the end, the handwriting is, in all probability, Rogers's.]

N 8 A Journal of Major Rogers's Proceedings with the Indians at the garrison of Michillimackinac from May the 24th to July 23^d 1767, viz

May 26th The Ottawas of the grand River Came in and Next arrived also all the Ottawas from Abacroach as did those of the Island

By June 10th Arrived at different Times, the Potowatawmen from St. Joseph, The Chippewas from La Bay, from the Island & those who live near Lake Huron as did Their Chiefs of different Bands from Lake Superior and the Saganongs and Missasangans

June 15th All the Chiefs of the above Indians being Assembled a grand Council was held the outside the Fort—Minetewaba and La Force and Kegiweaskow opened the Assembly and spoke as follows, viz

My Father—We well remember what you told us last Fall, your Words have been laid up in our Hearts and not one of them is lost, and we come now to assure you that we have minded no idle Reports & listened to no Fools who endeavoured to put bad thoughts in our Heads Since we left you.—We have dissuaded our young Men from joining the Chippewas in any Hostile Measures and have kept this part of the Country Peaceable and Silent And we have not been wanting in our endeavour to keep things so to the Westward between our Brothers the Chippewas Fallivines, Soux and other Nations to whom the Chippewas have given Several Sly Blows

But we are now ready with all our Hearts to assist you in healing those Wounds—The Menomines, Sakes, Puans, Renaids, Winebegos and Soux are all coming to see you & ask your Advice upon this Occasion—And you now need only tell us how to act & what to do in the Affair & we will obey your Orders & keep your Words

The Chiefs of the other nations and Bands above mentioned Spake much to the same Purpose

I Replied That I was no Stranger to the unhappy differences between the Chippewas and Western Indians and to the Attempts that had been made to draw others into the Quarrel, which I had endeavoured to prevent—That I had by Seasonable Belts and Presents Kept Several Bands of young Warriors in particular one under the direction of the Grand Sable and a Party of Ottawas from joining in those Hostile Measures entered upon by the Chippewas—I then urged them to be of a peaceable and amicable Disposition towards the Several nations of Western Indians To exert themselves in bringing about a Friendly Accomodation between the Chippewas and them and not to entertain the least thought of War or Bloodshed—That they were all equally the Children of the Great King my Master who desired they might all live in peace like Brethren & would certainly be displeased if they did not—I recommended it to them to tarry till those from the Bay & Lake Superior arrived that we might See each others Faces all together & write as one in Clearing the Path & Brightening the Chain of Peace that might extend through all the Nations & Tribes of Indians from the Rising to the Setting Sun—I then

gave a Belt to the Grand Sable a Chippewa Chief of the Island to meet the Chippewas from Lake Superior with at St. Marys, and let them know that that the Soux Puans & Western Indians whom they had Struck & wounded were coming to this Fort to visit their Father and that I expected they would behave peaceably towards them and be of a Temper when they arrived to bury all enmity & Settle all past differences

I Then distributed Presents to them in the manner Set Forth in my Account from May 24th to June 23^d—Upon which some of the Ottawas departed to their Villages, Others went to meet the Soux & Western Nations to protect them from any Attacks of the Chippewas on their way hither, and the Grand Sable went to St. Marys to Treat with & Advise the Indians coming from Lake Superior

Proceedings with the Indians from June 24th to July 3^d 1767
viz

June 25th The Western Indians Soux, Sakes, Falavines, Renards and Puans being Assembled outside the Fort, Ragagumach Spoke for all as follows

Father—We have been encouraged to make you this visit by the last Fall that the Road from us to you was clear & open and we now rejoice to find your Words true and are glad to see you whom we look upon to be our Father next to the King the great Father of us all—All us that are here present are as one, and he that Strikes one Strikes all of us—We are Situate at the greatest distance from you of any of your Children, but we hope that we are not the less loved and cared for by you for that, we know you have taken pains to keep us from being Hurt—And we are Sorry that notwithstanding we have been Struck and wounded by some of your other Children the Chippewas who have lately Stained our Country with the Blood of some of our People and given us great provokation to lift up the Hatchet against them, but we have as yet forbore and came to begg that you our father will have pity upon us. See our past Injuries redressed & that we suffer the like no more, otherwise we must defend ourselves & repell Force by Force Our young Warriors have long been ready & eager to return the blows we have received, but be-

cause of your Words by Goddard and DeRevier we have restrained them.

I replied That I was no Stranger to the Hostile Disposition & attempts of the Chippewas towards them; that I had taken great pains to prevent any mischief being done in their Country and was grieved that they had any Cause of Complaint being greatly desirous that they & their Brothers the Chippewas and all other Tribes and Nations under the protection of the King my Master should live in Peace & Amity, and that I should still endeavour for this all in my power,—I desired them not to think of war but Peace and I would make the Chippewas & others do the same, that they should at present be protected and need fear no Harm from any one,—I then dismissed them after a distribution of some Refreshments till such Time as a Grand and General Council should be Held with all the Indians together some being not yet arrived that were expected Several Conferences passed between this and the 2^d of July with the Chiefs and warriors of different Tribes and Nations Separately, in which I could not but observe a pretty general Hostile Temper to prevail & most of them upon the Point of an open war & rupture to the Westward, there had been Injuries Provocations and Bloodshed on both sides which joined to y^e natural inclination of those Savages to frequent Wars, and the perfidious Conduct of the French and Spanish Traders from the other side of the Misissipi by instilling false notions into their Minds and Stiring them up to war among themselves and into a bad opinion of us and our Traders made matters look very unfavorable to our Trade in that part of the Country at present.—I therefore urged it Strongly upon the western Tribes and nations not to listen to or hold any Commerce or converse with the French beyond the Misissipi as a thing Displeasing to the King to Sir William Johnson to me and to all Englishmen and that must in the End be very dangerous and Hurtfull to them to their wives and Children by cutting off necessary Supplies from their Country and introducing Poverty Famine and Miseries of every kind

To all which they weemed to listen and agree promising to be true and faithfull and to Act wisely for the Future

I strongly recommended the same to the Chippewas and other Tribes & Nations and received the same Assurances from them which gave great Hopes that matters would be finally Accommodated and brought to an happy Conclusion among them to the full Satisfaction of all Parties—A grand . . . Council was Held outside the Fort at this were present the Chiefs of the Bay the Fallavines Puans Sakes Renards Sox, Chippewas Ottawas Messissagas

The Matters of Complaint on either side & the Grand affair of Peace and War were briefly touched upon and Canvassed and after many Short Speeches Replys and Rejoinders of no great Consequence it appeared that there was a general disposition to peace and Amity prevailing among them which I had before recommended to them Separately—I lighted the Calumet or Pipe of Peace which was smoaked with the Formality usual on such occasions by the Chiefs of all the Tribes and Nations, who gave one another the Strongest assurances of Friendship and Love, Promised to forgive and forget all past Injuries and Affronts, to keep down and restrain the Fire of their young Warriors and use their utmost endeavours to prevent mischief on all sides for the future and to live in Harmony Concord & good Agreement like Brethren and Children of the same Father, begging that they might all be Treated as Children in Common, have Traders sent amongst them and be Supplied with necessary goods in their Several distant Villages and Hunting grounds which I assured them should be done—Some Refreshments were distributed and the Council concluded to the mutual Satisfaction of all Parties and the next day viz

July 3^d A Distribution was made of Presents to the Several Tribes Bands and Nations as is Specified and Set forth largely and particularly in my Certified Accounts of this Date^a . .

^a The Statement of Account by Rogers for gifts to the Indians and chiefs during this memorable convocation held during the period from June 24 to July 3 is here given in full from a copy of the original in the British Treasury Papers.

Almost without exception, bills of this kind when presented to Johnson were not allowed, he claiming that such bills were unnecessary and not contracted with his authority. At the termination of Rogers's Michillimackinac career the amount of such unpaid and unauthorised bills amounted to many thousand pounds, and the correspondence relative to such claims, for which Rogers had become responsible to the traders, between him, Sir William Johnson and General Gage, is extensive enough to fill a volume. Appeal

. and over and above a considerable Quantity of good was Delivered the Indians that was given by the merchant and it in my hand to be delivered

To sett this matter in as clear & Just a light as I possibly can, I shall point out the several outposts of Michillimakinac, the number of Canoes & Quantity of Goods annually Required to supply the Savages which resort to them, The prime cost of those Goods in Quebec & Albany, the Expence of Importing

after appeal was made by him for a settlement of these bills, but without success, he even went to England to press his case.

An Account of Goods given To The several Indian Nations in the district of Michillimacmack by Robert Rogers Esq. Commandan between the 24th June and 3d July 1767 which he purchas'd of William Bruce and Company-

To Whom Delivered	Stroud blankets @ 30/-	Piece Gimp @ 10/-	White blankets @ 17/-	Double bed gowns @ 16/-	Coats @ 16/-	Shirts @ 12/-	Galls Rum @ 20/-	Mds of Wampum @ 60/-	Pds Vermillion @ 20/-	N. York Curr'y
To The Foxes	6	6	4	5	2	6	1½	4		£ 38- 3-4
ditto St. Marys	5	5	6	4	2	3	2	2	1	30-16-0
ditto Menomeney's	6	6	4	3	2	3	3	2		28-13-4
ditto Kawmeenipito geau	5	5	4	10	2	1	1	2	1	34-13-4
ditto Wood Lake	6	6	3	6	2	6	14	4		49-13-4
ditto La Point	4	7	8	8	4	10	13	3		54- 0-8
ditto Sauks	3	3	5	2	4	3	2	1		18-14-8
ditto Pewans	4	4	3	3	3	8	2	4	1	35- 4-0
ditto Rain Lake	4	6	12	1	4	6	16	4		49- 4-0
ditto Nippygong	4	4	5	4	1	3	2	2		26- 2-8
ditto Winnypeek	4	4	7	5	2	4	2	3		27- 1-4
ditto Minneewake	2	2	4	5	4	3	1	2	1	20- 9-4
ditto Souer	2	13	13	8	4	14	16	6		69-15-4
										£481-13-0

I do hereby certify that the Above Account is Just and True as witness my hand Michillimacmack 6th July 1767-

Wm Bruce & Co.

We the Subscribers do hereby Certify that the distributions of Goods were Actually made by Major Rogers To the different Nations of Indians as specify'd in the within account, and are Confident that the within and other presents by him given to the Indians which we have this day Certify'd were absolutely Necessary and well Timed Otherwise an Indian War must have taken place in this Country Instead of a peace which he has with Great pains, care, and fatigue to himself settled amongst all the different Nations that Resort this post greatly to the advantage of His Majesty's Interest and to those of his Subjects Trading to this Country who must have been Totally Ruined by a War-

Given under our hand at Michillimacmack the 6 July 1767 T Spiesmacher Capt 2nd
Rob't Rogers Comm^d Alec Jnt. Soote—Lieut of Artillery 2d Batt. 60 Regt
T. Meadows Ens. 2d Batt. 60th Regim. Wm Maxwell—
D. Commissary of Stores & Provisions

them from thence to Michilimackinac, And the quantity that it will take provided the Trade is extended free & open to said posts.

In the next place the Number of Canoes and quantity of Goods that will be Sufficient to Supply the post of Michilimackinac provided the trade is confined to that, And no Traders suffered to make sale of their Goods at the out posts.

Lists of Posts & the Canoes necessary to supply them, and also a list of the furs and peltry that was exported from Michilimackinac the summer of 1767 all of which was caught the forgoing winter by the Indians.

In Lake Huron—

Saguinay Bay	-	-	-	-	-	-	3 canoes
Machidash & Riviere auSable	-	-	-	-	-	-	3

In Lake Michigan

La Grand Riviere, and a few small posts	}	-	6
depending on it		-	-

Saint Josephs & its dependancies	-	-	-	8
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Milwayte	-	-	-	-	-	2
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La Bay & its dependancies	-	-	-	-	-	36
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In Lake Superior

On the South Side

Saint Marys	-	-	-	-	-	2
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La Point Chagouamigan, Including	}	-	-	8
S ^t . Ance, La fond du lac, la Riviere		-	-	-
Serpent & petite Ouninipique		-	-	-

On the North Side

Michipicotton	-	-	-	-	-	60
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Brough over	-	-	-	-	-	69 canoes
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Changuina, Caministigua or three Rivers	-	-	-	3
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Alempigan & its Dependancies one large	}	-	-	4
Canoe & five small ones which is equal to		-	-	-

In the Interior parts of the Country
to the West & Northwest of Lake Superior

Lake Lepus, Six small canoes equal to	-	-	3
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Lake du Bois, two small D ^o . equal to	-	-	1
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Riviere du Beuf & La Riviere Ounipique	}	-	1½
three small canoes equal to		-	-

Fort LaReine, five small D ^o . equal to	-	-	2½
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La Biche, three small D°. equal to	-	-	-	1½
Fort Dauphin three small D°. equal to	-	-	-	1½
Dupais five small D°. equal to	-	-	-	2½
La prairie five small D°. equal to	-	-	-	2½

92

To the Souis - - - - - 2

If the foregoing posts are all Supplied Agreeable to the Above plan I am well Informed that no more than about Six Canoes would be Annually consumed at Michilimakinac - - - - -	}	-	6
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Large canoes 100

One Hundred Canoes will not be more than Sufficient for the Annual Consumption, if this Trade be extended under proper regulations to the outposts. The Load for one of which when made up in Montreal into Bales of about Ninety pounds French weight for the Convienieny of Carrying them round the Falls & Rapids on the Awawa or North River on the Rout to Michilimakinac is as follows.

Eighteen Bales consisting of Strouds, Blankets, frize Coates, Callimancoe Bed Gowns, coarse Callicoe, linnen Shirts, Leg-gins, Ribbans, beads, Virmillion, gartering and many other such Articles. And the following pieces of about the same weight.

Nine Kegs of Gun powder

One Keg of Flint, Steels & gun Screws

Ten Kegs of British Brandy

four cases of Ironwork & Cutleryware

Two cases of Guns

Two Bales of brass Kettles

Two cases of Looking Glasses & combs

five Bales of Manufactured carrot Tobacco

Twelve Bags of Shott & Ball

One Box of Silverwork & wampum

Which goods at the lowest value at Quebec

Amount to 450 Steal: pr Canoe, prime cost	£45000 0
of 100 Canoes - - - - -	

To which I may also add the price of the Canoes, together with the wages of upwards of 1000 Men, which are annually employ'd in this Trade between spring & Harvest to Navi- gate said canoes 95 10 for each canoe	9550 0
Wages of Clerks, or Commis employ'd } in Said Trade computed at about }	3888 0

Carried over -	£58438 00
Brought over - - - - -	£58438.00 0

I may also allow for money annually paid to Mechanicks, such as blacksmiths, Carpen- ters, Coopers & Taylors to make up Cloathes, Shirts & other things necessary for this Trade. Together with the charges of Carrying the said goods from Montreal to Lachine three Leagues from Montreal, And on the other side to Schinactady five Leagues from Albany: in order to be Embarked, About - -	1740.00 0
Provisions such as Beef, Pork } Biscuit & pease - - about }	720.00.0

Prime cost & to tall expense of 100 canoes to Michillimakinac - - - - -	£60898.00.0
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So that the Totall Amount of the Merchandize, with the outfitt & Expences Arises to Sixty Thousand Eight Hundred & Ninety eight pounds, in case the Trade be open and free to the Different out postes: And these regulated properly by the Commandant or Governour of Michillimakinac, so that the whole may be equally divided, as in the time of the French, which I have reason to think is not Exaggerated.

On the other hand if trade is to be Confined to this Fort only, And the Traders not Allowed to go beyond it: Ten canoes will be Sufficient, Which without making any Difference in the prime cost of Goods and
The Expences, will Amount to - - - £6089.16.
from which it appears that the real
Difference from the first outfitt by con-
fining the Trade to this Fort, and having

it extended & carried on in the Indian Country as it was formerly done by the French is Fifty four Thousand Eight Hundred & eight Pounds four shillings of which Sum Great Britain will loss Annually about Forty Thousand five Hundred Pounds, And the remainder will Intirely fall on the most usefull and Industrious part of his Majesties Subjects in the province of Quebec: particularly within the District of Montreal, who chiefly Depend on this branch of Commerce for their Support.

54000.4.—

40500.0.0

A List of the fur and peltery that was Exported from Michilimakinac y^e Summer of 1767

		price Current at New York
Beaver Skins	worth per pound	
	Each worth	
Foxes	Each worth	
		4
Martins	worth Each	Two
		price curant at New York
Rachoons	Each worth	
		£000 £8d

total amount

So that at Michilimakinac The gains anually of the fur traid is over and above paying all thier first cost and after Expençe ammount to £000⁰⁰

The Estimate perhaps may seem partial to some, but as I am confident it is very near the Truth, so I am persuaded it will be approved of by such as are tollerably acquainted with the Situation of Michilimakinac with regard to the out Posts above mentioned, and to the Several Nations, Tribes and Bands of Indians Trading to them—

In the first place it should be observed that if the Trade be confined to Michilimakinac, few if any Indians from the West

of Lake Michigan or from the South and west of Lake Superior would ever visit that Post at all, some because they are at such a distance that they cannot possibly do it, and others because they can be Supplied at Home with every Article they stand in need of, for it is more then probable, it is certain that if we do not send a Supply to those Indians the Spaniards will, who have already began to Trade in the Country of the Soux & at some Posts on the Lake Superior and Michigan so that we should wholly Loose the Trade of near thirty Thousand Indians which we may now Leave if it be extended to the out Posts & these properly Supplied, This loss would be of the outmost moment but it is not all we should also loose their Friendship; and their attachment to the French and Spaniards would become stronger so that we should have them for our most dangerous and implacable Enemies - - - -

Secondly we not only *wholly* Loose the Trade of such numbers of Savages by a confinement of Trade to Michilimakanac, but those nations Tribes and Bands that will continue to Supply themselves from that Post will not Trade near so largely, perhaps not more than to two thirds of the value annully, that they would do were Traders allowed to visit and Supply them at their Hunting Grounds or winter Quarters,—

The reason of this is plain: The presence of the Trader with a Supply of such Articles as the Savage wants, excites and encourages Him to greater Industry and Assiduity in Hunting, it animates Men Women and Children to exert themselves to the utmost for the procureing of what they can upon the Spot immediately Barter for such things as will be usefull or ornamental to them.—

Besides, as the Savages are mostly poor they are not able to supply themselves with large Stores of such things as are absolutely necessary not only to their Hunting but even their Subsisting with any Comfort, so that in case of any emergency or Accident they must often Suffer great inconveniences if Traders are not among them or near at Hand to Supply them afresh, for Instance the Loosing or or breaking of a Hatchet or two or three Knives & the like may lay a Whole Family under great inconveniences for six or eight Months together, the Spoiling of a Small quantity of Gunpowder, the breaking

a Spring of a gunLock &c may be the means of destroying a whole Seasons Hunt and of distressing and Starving a numerous Family. whence tis easy to infer that confining Trade to the Post of Michilimakanac will greatly diminish our Trade even with Those Savages that will Still depend upon it for their Supplies for the Savage can Trade only in proportion to His Industry Skill & Success in Hunting,—

Nor is it difficult to collect furmer bad Tendencyys such a confinement of Trade must have to exasperateing & procureing the ill will of those Savages who have been accustomed / & their Fathers before them / annually to expect Traders with Supplies of such articles as they wanted at their Hunting grounds or winter Quarters, will not the necessitous distressed & hungry Savage conclude that his hurt & ruin is connected with if not intended by such an innovation? will he not be provoked to retalliate in some way or other?

It may here be added that it is utterly impossible for many of those Savages, who are within the Limits that would be dependent on Michilimaka° / were the Trade confined to that only / to carry their Furs and Peltery there—First Many of them have not & cannot have Conveyanses—Secondly many others must leave their Wives & Children to Starve and perish in the Absence, and lastly the Situation & Circumstances of Some nations and Tribes are such, that were they obliged to carry to the Single Market of Michilimakanac the Produce of their years Hunt or any Part of it, they must leave their Wives and Children not only in a distressed and Starving Condition but liable every day and Hour to become Slaves and their whole Country and Substance be left a prey to neighbouring Savages.

The different nations & Tribes are now often at war with each other, and it is very certain these animosi° would increase greatly when they come to have different different Connexions, Separate Channells of Trade and as it were opposite Interests

I cannot but think what has been said is Sufficient to convince any one that the above estimate of the odds between confining the Trade to the Post of Michilimakanac only & extending it free and open to the Out Posts at present dependent upon it, is neither partial nor improbable, & that such a

Limitation and confinement of Trade would not only greatly curtail & lessen our Trade but would otherwise be greatly Injurious & detrimental to the Brittish Interest in this Country, by opening a Doar for neighboring enemies to enter & encroach upon our Territories, by cooling the Friendship of many Savages and by exciting the Enmity rage and brutal Revenge of many more against His Majestys Subjects in this Part of the world, for it is well known that the revenge of a Savage is not Governed by reason or Justice but falls at random upon the first object he meets with anyways related to or connected with those from whom he has received a real or Suposed Injury

It should also be considered that the Sum of Forty-Thousand five hundred pounds in Trade is not the whole Loss that Great Briton must Suffer by Such a Restriction For whatever Lessens British Manufacturers or puts a Stop to those Employments by which British Subjects may decently Subsist and increase their Substance may be justly estimated a public injury or national Loss,—now according to the above estimate Such a restriction of Trade will Annually hinder the Sale of Forty five Thousand pounds worth prime Cost in Qubec of Goods chiefly of British Manufactory and as it must Hinder the Sale of them there it will also hinder the importing them from London to Quebec & thence to Michilimakanac and in that proportion effect our Shipping or Naval Interest—and in America it must immediately turn out of employment at lest 1000 Subjects who Act as Servants, Canoe Men & in carrying on the Trade who not only decently Subsist by such Employment but many of them greatly increase their Substance and consequently add to the Riches of the Nation.

So that upon the whole, the clear Profits of Trade Lost by such a Restriction of Trade ought not to be estimated more than one half of the real Loss it must be to the nation it should be observed that the profits of this Trade does not come to british Subjects in Cash but what is much better in fur and Peltery, all which are to be manufactured and turned perhaps to ten times their original value before they come to the highest Market.

For notwithstanding I have here fixed the Price at which goods are Sold to the Savages at four times their prime Cost in London allowing one fourth for the expence of importing to Michillimakanac, and two fourths for the Traders clear profits, yet it should be observed that many of those goods when carried to the out Posts are Sold at Six or eight hundred & a thousand per cent in proportion to the distance to which they are carryed, which great Advance after leaving upon an average, goes to defray the expences of exporting & carrying from one place to another the payment of Batteaumen, Carriers. Clerks Interpreters and the Like.⁹

I cannot but think what has been said is abundantly Sufficient to convince every one that it is greatly for the Interest of Great Britain not to restrict the Indian Trade to the Post of Michillimakanac but to extend it open & free with all reasonable encouragement to the Several Out Posts that have heretofore been looked upon dependent upon it & that have for many years Since been Annually Supplied from it, and even to extend it further if possible into the Interior Country to Tribes and nations of Savages at present unknown I will here only Subjoin that some national advantages may arise and those not inconsiderable from having a number of Subjects Annually Employed & for the most part resident four Six and eight Hundred Leagues and some further, west, Northwest and Southwest of Michilimakanac—who can say what valuable Discoveries may one Time or other be made by this Means?—and at any Rate this would prevent any other European Nation from Secretly gaining any considerable footing in those remote regions that might be detrimental to us—it would bring a great number of British Subjects acquainted with the Rivers Mountains, Plains and Capes of the Country in a good Degree who would Serve for Guides and Conductors in case of any immergency—it would give us an opportunity of knowing in some good Measure the Temper and Resolutions of the Savages with regard to us from Time to Time,—in fine it would be as was hinted before a probable means of conciliation and attaching great numbers of them to the British Interest, who

⁹ This paragraph in the original Journal is crossed through in the lines, with the intention of striking it out.

upon any Occasion would prove our Stedfast Friends and faithfull Allies

Now the Case with Regard to the other principal Posts below Michilimakanac is very different and no one reason offered here for extending the Trade to the out Posts can with any Strength or Propriety be urged for either of them

To begin with Oswego.

There are no Savages dependent upon that Post for a Supply of necessaries or whose Furs & Peltery comes to that Market but what at almost any Season may easily repair to it in two or three days Time, or if they do not Chuse to go there, they may with equal ease repair to the English Settlements and be Supplied with whatever they have occasion for. And indeed the Trade with the Indians at Oswego is now very inconsiderable and if divided into three or four Branches it would not be worth a Trader's while to go after either of them, so that no ill consequences can follow from a Restriction of Trade to this Post

Nor is the case of Niagara widely different from that of Oswego, the Trade with the Indians indeed is Larger, but there are no Savages who are originally Supplied from that Post or that make it their usual Market, but what may repair to it at all Seasons of the year in a very Short time and return again to their Hunting grounds or places of residence, or in case of any emergency may send a band of their young Warriors and be quickly Supplied with whatever they have occasion for—Indeed there is no out Post belonging to Niagara so considerable that any Trader would Chuse regularly to attend and Supply it were he permitted or desired to do it. . . . As therefore no great disadvantage to the Traders or Inconvenience to the Savages if any at all can arise from a restriction of Trade to this Post there can I think be no Solid objection why such Restriction should not take place there

And as to Detroit the Case differs very little from that of Oswego and Niagara, the Trade there with the Savages, Tis true is much larger than at both the other Posts, But it is chiefly with Savages that have an easy and quick recourse there, who at any time can in a few days be Supplied from thence with whatever they have Occasion for:



As to those Indians who live at a greater distance upon the Southwesterly Banks of Lake Erie in Spite of any orders or regulations to y^e Contrary they will not fail to stop such a number of Pack Horses with their Drivers passing that way from Philadelphia to Detroit Loaded with goods, as will be Sufficient to Supply them—Nor can we reasonably Suppose but that the Trader will easily submit to such a Constraint, as he is saved from forfeiting his Bonds given to the Commissary at Fort Pitt and has a prospect of making a quick & advantageous Market of His goods—. The very Same is the Case at the Mamee where Pontecac has taken up His Residence for two Winters part. He certainly will make no Scruple of Stopping Such a number of Canoes passing between Detroit and the Illinois as are Sufficient to Supply His band

This being the Case no material Injury or Inconveniency can arise to the Trader, the Savage or the State by restricting Indian Trade to Detroit

And to avoid Repetitions upon this Subject, very much the same holds True of Fort Pitt and the Post at the Illinois: The Savages dependent upon those Posts for Supplies of goods are either so near to them that they can easily repair thither upon any urgent Occasion & in a Short Space of time so as not to distress their Families or neglect their Hunting, or else are so Situate as to Supply themselves from Traders passing from Philadelphia to Pittsburg, from Pittsburg to Detroit and from both those Posts to the Illinois, or from Fort Pitt to Fort Chartres, a Trade is also carried on from Fort Pitt by Boat down the Ohio by which many Savages may be Supplied &c

It need not surely be repeated that the Case of Michilimakanac is very different—This is the outside or Frontier British Post in America—It is or ought to be a Barier to all that may come Westerly Northwesterly or Southwesterly to the Pacific Ocean—It is or ought to be a Beacon from which a most Extensive and as yet unknown Territory is Watched and observed—It is or ought to be a Store House fraught with all manner of necessaries for the Constant Supply of almost innumerable Bands Tribes and nations of Savages—Savages removed from it five, Six & eight Hundred and some a thousand Leagues who cannot Annually nor ever in their Lives visit it

as a Market—They must loose one years Hunt to make Sale of another—They must leave their Families distressed and Starving—Their Country and Substance naked & exposed to Enemies, and perhaps perish themselves with Hunger and want on their way—Savages long accustomed to expect Traders Annually with Supplies in their respective Countries

Tis true some principal person from some of these distant Tribes and nations, generally visit this Garrison once in two or three years But it is their year's employment when they come They bring nothing with them except some Triffling Present, or some Small matter to exchange for necessaries to carry them back again, they do not come to Market—Their Buisiness is to renew and brighten the Chain or Path of Friendship and make Solemn Declaration of their peaceable disposition and Amicable Intentions towards us—, And their principal Request of the Commandant is that Traders may come into their respective Countries, That their Wives, Children, Old Men Friends and Countrymen may be Supplied with such things as / having been long accustomed to the use of / they cannot comfortably and patiently Subsist without—

But I forbear—Any one of the least Sensibility may imagin somthing of the Pain and Chagrin that a Commandant must feel when he finds Himself obliged to Answer, that he cannot permit any Trader to come nearer to them than this Garrison. and if they want goods they must come hither for them—

And what must be the Consternation, the uneasiness displeasure and Resentment of those Tribes and Nations when their Chiefs Return with this unexpected Melancholy but possitive Answer who can Answer for the Measures they may take in these Circumstances—

And will not a neighbouring Ambitious enemy make all possible advantages of this unhappy Posture of Affairs—Will they not construe, Aggravate and Turn such proceedings as much to the Injury of Britton and British Subjects as possible —Will they not hence take occasion to make inroads and incroachments and to create fresh Troubles to his Brittannic Majesties Subjects? They already have done it and are doing it daily as has been Hinted before

But I will add no more upon this Head The Point is so clear and obvious that it need not be enlarged or insisted upon

I shall conclude the whole I have to say with the following Queries, in the Speedy Indicision and wise Dicision of which I think the British Interest materially Concerned viz

Quer 1 Is it the Interest of great Britain to keep the Territories and Possessions in North America Ceded to Her by the last Treaty or to give up or neglect a part of them and Suffer a neighbouring Nation to become possessed of and fortified in the Same?

Quer. 2 Is it the Interest of Great Britain to Secure and if possible increase Her Trade of Furr and Peltery with the Savages, or to Suffer that Branch of Trade to be curtailed, to dwindle and fall into the Hands of Her Enemies?

Quer 3 Is not the largest Channal of the Furr and Peltery Trade in North America so circumstanced and Situated, that the Security and increase of it greatly depends upon the due Regulation & wise managment of Indian Affairs at the Post of Michilimakanac?

Quer 4 Ought not the Government to pay a particular Attention to that Post upon which the Security of an immense Territory and a most profitable Trade so greatly depends?

Quer 5 Would it not greatly contribute to the Security and increase of Trade in these boundless Regions to erect Michilimakanac into a Civil Government independ^t. of any other Post with a proper Subordination of Legislative and Executive Officers for the forming of proper Regulations from time to time and the due Administration of Justice?

Quer 6 Would it not contribute to the Same valuable purpose not only to keep the Post of Michilimakanac Garrisoned with a Suitable number of brave well disciplined Troops, but to send into and Station in this Country some Companies of light Troops, who might March upon any immergency to its Out Posts or be employed in exploring the Country, Awing the Savages and making fresh Discoveries?

Quer 7 Since it is in fact true / and can be reported By a Multitude of Witnesses / that the French at Michilimakanac, St. Josephs the Green Bay, St. Mary's and other places in this

Country where they are lurking & walking up and down, are an Indolent Slothfull Set of vagabonds, ill disposed to the English and having great influence over the Savages are continually exciting their Jealosys, and Stiring up their hatred and Revenge against us, Ought they not therefore as Speedily as possible to be removed out of this Country for the better Security of British Subjects and British Trade?

Quer 8 Since Our Neighbours the French & Spaniards have in Fact begun a Settlement on our Side or the East Side of the Mississipi, upon the River Luis Constance where it joins at a place called the Dog Plain, a thourough fare formerly for great numbers of Indians to Michilimakanac and now intended by them to prevent their Trading to that Post for the future, Since they already have and daily are Sending out Traders to Posts on the Lakes Superior and Michigan and into the Country of the Soux &c which Acts are manifest encroachm^{ts} upon the Territories and Trade of Great Britian

Ought not the Government to pay a Serious & Speedy Attention to these Encroachments and enter upon some effectual Measures to prevent them?

If y^e above Queries be answered in the affirmative, as they surely must, the following Plan, seems absolutely necessary to gain the great, & Valueable Ends, hinted at, & propos'd by them. *Viz*

Which is, humbly submitted, to the better Judgement, of his MAJESTY. & the Government of Great BRITAIN who at all times, have consulted the Interest of his Majestys Subjects, but more especially at this Glorious period, of the Brittish Annals *Viz*

That Michillimackinac & its dependencies, shoud be erected into a Civil Government; with a Governor, Lieutenant Governor, & a Council, of twelve; chose out of the Principal Merchants, that carry on this valueable branch of Trade with Power to enact, such Laws, as may be necessary & these to be transmitted, to the KING: & for Approbation: That the Governor, shoud be Agent for the Indians, & Commandant of the troops, that may be order'd to Garisson, the Fort who must not see a divided power, which the Savages laugh at & Contemmon: and have Authority to leave the Lieut. Gov, his Deputy,

when the service may, require him, to Visit the Indians at a distance; in order to prevent, Quarrels and Wars among the Savages; which at all times is disadvantageous, to the publick, & to Trade, or in order to remove incroachments of the French & Spaniards, or other greivencies, that may occur at the out posts, & Frontiers

For the further preventing of which, as likewise the intentions, of French, & Spaniards, of drawing the Indians, from between the Lakes Superior & Michigan & the River MISSISSIPPE, to trade with them & build thier Villages, or settle thier Habitations on thier side the said River, which they Actually are attempting at this time: by sending Belts & Messages amongst the Indians: to that purpose, with large presents to induce them to it which is to my certain knowledge, having clear proofs & Attestations thereof. I say for further preventing these & other dangerous Consequences to the well being of trade of this distant & critically situated part of His Majesty's dominions it is, or it seems absolutely neccessary, that a Body of light Troops, or rangers, well diciplin'd, be fix'd in this district, under the Command of the Gov^r., Two three, or more Companies, as shall seem necessary, with power to detach them, to any Post where it may be needfull, or to station a part of them on those parts of the frontiers most expos'd, to the incroachments mentiond above, at proper seasons of the Year, such as the mouth of Ousconsins, where it joins the Mississippi, & where the said encroachments, are notorious, or other such places

THAT the Gov & his Council shoud report in all civil matters, or in Affairs relating to the Indians to the KING, & COUNCIL. And that a fix'd sum shoud be allow'd Annually, for presents, to the Indians, to keep them peaceable, & well dispos'd towards His Majesty's Just & mild Government such as shall be thought reasonable and Adequate for a Post to which more than one third of the Indians on the Continent resort, besides many other nation to the Westward, as far even as the Pacific Ocean, that are not now known, who may be inducd to visit, & trade, with us, upon the Fame of so wise, & prudent, regulations, if properly carried into Execution

THE Nesessity of having a Lieu^t. Gov^r. & one who is known to Indian Affairs, is pretty obvious from what has been said:

That the Gov^r. may on many occasions be oblig'd to be at a great distance from the Fort, as has been the Case since my Arrival, at this Garrison, having had repeated Belts, & messages, to visit the Indians, at great distance in thier Villages, & has been absolutely oblig'd, to go. At which times one may be oblig'd to leave the Command to one no ways known to Indian affairs, which makes it absolutely necessary to have a second well experienc'd as well with the manners of the Indians so, likewise with the nature of the trade of this Country, one who is a friend to Civil Power & to Trade, who need be no further expence to the Government, then having the second Company of Rangers with a moderate Allowance for Commanding in the Gov^rs. absence

If to this Plan it shou'd be objected; that the constituting of small Garrisons, & Posts, to the Westward, under the Command of regular Troops, wou'd answer all the purposes of the Rangers &c It is plain they cannot, from many obvious reasons, Regular Troops who must be often chang'd can never know the Woods, the Savages, their manners, thier ways of making War, or any of the purposes for which the Rangers are propos'd. so well as men who are inlisted for these purposes, who are pick'd out for thier knowledge & Experience in these things, & who are to abide by, & make them the bussiness of thier Lives.

THESE small Garrisons, being weak & at a great distance, one from another & under the Command of inferior Officers, are liable to be surpris'd, or taken by force at all times by the Savages, numbers of whom, are always dispos'd to commit such depredations as a Savage heroism, or for plunder, as happen'd in the last Indian War of 1763

THE inferior Officers & Soldiers in small Posts, both from their circumstances & their being not immediately under the Eyes of their Superiors, have great temptations to yeld to corruption & to tyrannise over the Merchants & people in civil Life

WHEREAS by the propos'd Plan, all are under a Civil Power & Gov Commandant of the Troops, & Agent to the Indians Which wou'd cause every Branch to be countenanc'd for the mutual safety of each other.

THE PRESS IN BRITISH GUIANA

BY JAMES RODWAY

British Guiana is a union of two Dutch Colonies, first Essequibo and Demerara, second Berbice, both captured by the British in 1796. There were governing councils in both and the rule seems to have been more arbitrary than that of the mother country, for no one was permitted to criticise the actions of the Governments on pain of corporal punishment. Under such circumstances the colonists were perforce obliged to keep silent and there was no room for newspapers. When there were grievances they could, however, be ventilated in Dutch papers.

Until 1793 there was no press in either colony and therefore all Government notices were written and circulated by means of colony slaves in corials, who passed up and down the rivers, exhibiting the documents at each plantation. The Manager wrote *Vertooned*, *Vise* or *Seen* and signed his name, after which the same document was carried from one to another, only one copy being available for a district. Some of these circulars are in existence and are interesting for the names of people who otherwise would have been unknown. In Stabroek (now Georgetown) there was probably a bellman, but advertisements were generally written circulars or letters.

Dutchmen are proverbially slow in the mother country and they were more so in the colonies. Englishmen in Demerara subscribed to Barbados newspapers and the Dutch to the "*Amsterdamsche Courant*," where the more important official notices of transports, etc., were published. The want of a colonial newspaper was hardly felt and when the

pioneer advertising sheet was started it failed for want of support. It will be well to understand that though Demerara was under Dutch government at least one-third of the planters were British; Essequibo had more Dutch and Berbice hardly any foreigners.

In 1793, Mr. J. C. de la Coste, probably a Portuguese Jew, was a partner with Andries Beaujon, as attorneys-at-law in the town of Stabroek. Not having a large practice he could leave his partner to do what was necessary, and embark in anything else that pleased his fancy. We may call him a pushing fellow, and probably he shocked some of the slow people in the colony. Among his projects was one for a packet service with Barbados and another for a regular post from Demerara to Essequibo. All his schemes, however, came to nothing and we may safely state that he was ahead of his time as far as the Dutch colonies were concerned.

On July 31, 1793, Mr. J. C. de la Coste petitioned the Court of Policy of Demerara and Essequibo for the exclusive right to establish a printing office and newspaper. He had been requested to do this by a large number of the principal inhabitants, and was inclined to establish a printing press, which he thought would be a great convenience. This, however, he could not do unless he was guaranteed against competition, for five years. He also wanted a special authorization by which the official publications in his paper would have legal force. If permission was granted he would publish a weekly advertising sheet in which all Government publications, ordinances, regulations of the Court and notices would be inserted free, with the understanding that they were duly authorized. If this was allowed he would be enabled to spend the necessary capital.

The Prospectus was in Dutch; the following is a free translation:—

**PROSPECTUS OF A WEEKLY ADVERTISING SHEET (ADVERTENTIE
BLAD)**

The aforesaid paper will be printed on medium sheets and published every Sunday morning, and will contain the sessions of the respective Courts of Policy and Justice of both rivers, as well as the Ordinances and Regulations of the said Courts:

The Edictal Citations and Execution Sales of both rivers:

The deaths and births of both rivers:

The arrivals and departures of vessels, with their cargoes and passengers:

The appointments and changes of all civil and military offices:

Inland news of all the occurrences of the week:

Reviews of the state of the cultivation; memoranda of the seasons; opening up of new land; private sales; changes among the planters; happy and unlucky accidents; in fact, whatever may be of public interest. And, the most noteworthy foreign political news from Europe, the West Indies and America, for which the printer will make the necessary correspondence connections to secure reliable and ample news.

Further, the aforementioned advertising paper will contain publications, notices calling up creditors of boedels, departures of persons from the Colony, public and private sales, hiring or renting of goods and slaves, and all other news interesting to the public.

It will also contain the names and descriptions of the runaway slaves, who may be captured and brought to the fort during the previous week.

Demerary, July 29th, 1793. J. C. de la Coste.

This project appears very ambitious, and it could hardly have been carried out; even at a much later date no Demerara paper was so comprehensive. However, the Court was favourably impressed and granted part of the petition but a patent or octroy could only be obtained from the Colonial Council in the Netherlands. Meanwhile they undertook to prohibit that any other printing press be established in the colony and agreed to recommend that the authorities at the Hague should grant the patent.

Having gone so far Mr. de la Coste began his preparations and we find him writing again to the Court on the 29th of October. He had already got the press, but the paper was not yet issued. On receiving the favorable answer from the Court, he at once set to

work to put the office on a proper footing by purchasing the necessary slaves and materials. The principal inhabitants supported his project and promised subscriptions; he also received much advice and many recommendations in regard to the way he should conduct the paper. Possibly as a result of gratuitous advice, he now added a postal delivery in connection with the distribution to subscribers of the new paper.

This was quite an innovation, for there was no postal system within the Colony, the mails from outside being delivered from the Secretary's Office on payment of postage and fees. It followed, therefore, that people living at a long distance might not know that letters were waiting for their messengers and were often hampered in many ways. We who know what a postal delivery means, suppose that people would be eager for the scheme proposed by Mr. de la Coste, who was prepared to give bonds for the due performance of the work.

His new Prospectus differed little as far as the paper was concerned but the following additions were made:

The advertising paper will be printed on a large sheet of the same size as the English papers.

The Publications, etc., will be published in both the Dutch and English languages.

The Advertisements and public notices, etc., will be published in the languages in which they are given.

The papers will be delivered in Stabroek early on Sunday morning, and four messengers will be sent out at the same time to distribute them through the different districts of Demerara.

The subscription for the newspaper and free postage for one year will be 55 guilders, of which 33 guilders must be paid in advance at once, and the remainder on the 1st. of May, 1794, for which subscribers must bind themselves by their signatures.

The Court approved of the new plan, with the exception of a proviso that every ship captain should be bound to deliver his letters to the new office and a reservation that it could alter or amend the regulations at any time.

A year later Mr. de la Coste again petitioned the Court. Having received permission he had carried out his plan to the best of his ability and up to the present had received no complaints. He could not, however, get the ship captains to send their letters to his office or to call for others. Some did so and the result was confusion; he therefore asked the Court to order that all letters be sent to him. The Governor had used his influence, but in the absence of a law, there were no means of enforcing the recommendation. Owing to this difficulty, he had thought of giving up the Post Office, but as the inhabitants were continually assuring him of its value he still kept it up. For the first time people had somewhere to deposit their letters and where they could get others from outside; this prevented the delay of sending negroes to enquire. The experience of the first year, however, proved that there was no profit, for the cost of eighteen distribution offices, and a clerk, were a little over the amount of the returns. He therefore again petitioned that every ship captain be bound to bring his letters and to call for those which he should take away when leaving. If an ordinance were passed he would print it at his own cost, and distribute copies to the captains on their arrival.

The Court was favorable and willing to do all they could, barring the ordinance, confining the matter to a recommendation to the Governor.

The newspaper and post office were carried on for another year, but in March, 1795, we find signs of weakness. It appears that Mr. de la Coste had an attorney named Andries Beaujon as partner who did most of the legal business. This gentleman, however, died in 1795, and the work devolved on the other partner. He therefore applied to the Court on March 9, 1795, for permission to transfer the management of his correspondence office to Nicolaas Volkerts; his request was granted, and we may presume that the business was a failure.

The final conclusion is shown by a letter from Mr. de la Coste, dated Oct. 31, 1795, informing the Court that as his subscriptions expired that day he intended to discontinue his newspaper and to close the printing office; he returned the license with many thanks to their honourables. At the same time it appears that the Post Office was also closed, for nothing more can be found in our Colonial records.

This first newspaper is apparently unknown apart from the Records, and I have never seen a copy. Even its name is wanting for Mr. de la Coste calls it an "Advertentie blad" or "Courant"; possibly it may have been "Courant van Essequibo en Demerary." It would be interesting to see whether the paper corresponded in any way with the description of its projector.

The year 1795 was critical for the Dutch colonies on account of the happenings in Europe. There was a little revolution in Demerara, through the sudden departure of the Governor. For a time everything was in confusion, but a little republic was started and lasted for a few weeks. Mr. de la Coste published at the Hague, a pamphlet giving an account of occurrences, but whether he went back to the Netherlands does not appear. Mr. Nicolaas Volkerts lived in the Colony until 1812, and we shall see his connection with other newspapers. The press became the property of the Widow Volkerts, who may have been the mother of Nicolaas.

During the two years 1793-5, Government Notices were printed, but after the closing of the printing office the old system of written circulars was resumed. A few specimens of Mr. de la Coste's printing exist in the Colonial Secretary's office, Georgetown, and are fair examples; we may presume that he superintended the work himself and that the slaves he bought were only capable of doing rough work. Whether the people of the colony missed the paper or not does not appear, in fact everything was upset in April, 1796, by

the arrival of a British force to which the colonies surrendered without firing a shot.

The British authorities were not satisfied with written notices, and proclamations, and it therefore followed that on June 8, 1796, the Dutch Governor, who had been retained, informed the Court of Policy, that the Commander of H. B. M. Forces had expressed a desire that a printing press should be established. This would not only be a convenience to the Commander in sending orders to the military posts, but also of great benefit to the people in general. The Governor, therefore, proposed that a press be established in Stabroek, the expenses to be paid jointly by the Colony and the Government, i. e. from the two Chests that then existed. A proper person should also be engaged, at an annual salary, to print all public papers for the Government, and the Courts, he being allowed to increase his income by printing for the inhabitants. If the appointment should be approved it would be necessary to furnish him with a press and printing materials, which there was now a good opportunity of procuring by applying to a certain Mrs. Volkerts who might be induced to dispose of a press in her possession.

After deliberation it was resolved that the Governor be requested to inquire of Mrs. Volkerts, whether she would sell and if so, at what price. Further, it was decided to send to Barbados for a competent person on a salary of fifty or sixty "Joes" (\$400 to \$480) half to be paid by the Colony, and half by the Government, which person would be bound to print all such public papers as may be required by the Government and the Courts.

Two days later the Governor stated that he had taken measures to secure the printing press and materials from Mrs. Volkerts. At first she had refused to sell, but shortly afterwards he had received the following letter:—

"Honoured Sir,

I request that you will ascribe the negative answer which I have returned to you in regard to the selling of the printing press, to no other cause than some scruples which weighed in my mind, which are now dissipated. The press with all its types, materials, and in short all that belongs to it, is accordingly at your service, and I humbly request that you will, instead of causing the same to be previously appraised, allow me at once for the whole a sum of 2,200 guilders, (\$880).

I believe this may a little exceed the price which my husband paid for it, but at the same time I think that from the expense of improving and amending the press, it would by this time have cost him the sum I now ask for it.

I beg leave to recommend myself to your protection and benevolence, and have the honour to be, etc.

Timmerman *q. q.* H. J. Volkerts."

The Court resolved to purchase the press for the sum named, provided it be appraised and found in good order by the printers, who were daily expected from Barbados.

Soon afterwards two printers named Ellis and Cox arrived and established the first Government Printing Office, as well as "The Royal Essequibo and Demerary Gazette." The salaries paid to them quarterly from both Chests was 704 guilders (\$281.60); all other expenses were apparently paid by Ellis & Cox, who were obliged to trust to private work for labour, etc. Whether they bought slaves does not appear; possibly they may have hired one or two.

The new paper was published on August 22, 1796, but as far as I know there is no copy of the first issue. The R. A. & C. Society has No. 5, Sept. 4th, which is a foolscap sheet almost filled with advertisements.

This absence of news was characteristic of our early papers, which were hampered by the Government in many ways, and it was not until about 1819 that local news and correspondence became at all prominent. I may here state that the historical students will find much information in the advertisements, and that they are of great value for the light they throw upon local conditions. We may be sure that the stores of

the time imported only things that could be sold; we can, therefore, be certain that the people used what was offered for sale. The real history of the colony can be gathered from its newspaper notices and advertisements.

The "Essequibo & Demerary Gazette" was a weekly, published regularly until the colonies were restored to the Batavian Republic, after the Peace of Amiens, near the end of 1802.

Being English, it did not satisfy the new Dutch authorities, and therefore on the first Saturday in 1803, a Government paper named "*Nieuwe Courant van Essequibo en Demerary*," printed by Nicolaas Volkerts, Gouvernements Boekdrukker, was issued and continued during the short occupation by the Dutch. What became of the late printer does not appear; probably he did not understand the Dutch language and may have gone back to Barbados. The first paper under the new heading contained an Official Notice, that by Resolution of the Colonial Council for the American Colonies and Possessions the privilege of printing such papers and documents as the Government or the Courts of Policy and Justice should consider proper to be published, was granted to Nicolaas Volkerts.

Volkerts admitted that he did not know English and therefore could not conduct a paper in that language. A specimen of his printing is in our Museum, the "Publicatie" containing the Articles of Capitulation of Essequibo and Demerary, September 19, 1803.

It is a broadsheet, printed on both sides, in Dutch and English. The surrender was made, as on the former occasion, without firing a shot and it is noticeable that the Grand Seal of the Colony of Berbice commemorated the fact by the motto, "*Sine pulvere palma*."

An English printer was required, but Nicolaas Volkerts appears to have become owner of the Government press, and he therefore employed Mr. E. J.

Henery under an agreement for half profits. The old name was restored and the paper went on steadily without trouble until the first agreement lapsed and another became necessary. Then as Henery and Volkerts could not agree as to terms, the former carried off the press to his own house and would not return it until ordered to do so by the Court of Justice. Volkerts was now in a difficulty for want of an English printer and in the end had to send to England from whence he got two printers, Thomas Bond and Adam Aulert, meanwhile carrying on the paper in his own name.

The difficulty occurred in 1805 and Mr. Henry sent to England for a press, by means of which he started a rival Gazette on January 6, 1806. In this new paper Henery gave "a short and simple but true statement of facts," which Volkerts answered with his version of the dispute. The conclusion of the last article is as follows:—

"We have to express our great obligations to the same gentleman, for his very extraordinary moderation and forbearance in being most graciously pleased not to exclude us from offering ourselves as candidates for public favour. We will, with his leave, so mercifully vouchsafed to us, strive to deserve that desideratum; and, should we succeed,—should we by our exertions and industry be fortunate enough to attain any height in the public esteem,—we will not prove ungrateful, we will not kick down the ladder which may enable us to ascend, but agreeably to the old English proverb we will heartily wish well to the bridge that carried us safe over."

There were now two rival Gazettes of the same name and we may be sure that there was no love lost between them. To add to the ill-feeling Volkerts obtained the Colonial printing, while Henery did the work for the Government and added "Royal" to the title of his paper. This, however, did not last long, for on July 31, 1806, the Court decided that as Nicolaas Volkerts had sold his printing office, the privilege of printing *all* the Court's publications be given to Mr. Henery. On June 21 preceding, Volkerts announced that his

paper would in future be printed by T. Bond, whose care and attention for some time past had given it a circulation hitherto unknown in these colonies. Up to the present there had been no real news, but now the opposition led to a little development. Volkerts announced that he was making proper arrangements for obtaining intelligence from all quarters. This was followed by a few local items not altogether pleasing to the authorities, for the Governor interfered by issuing the following order, published March 22, 1806:

"To Mr. Volkerts, Printer:

I am directed by the Governor to inform you that His Excellency has seen with much displeasure some illiberal and ill-natured reflections and paragraphs which have lately appeared in your weekly paper. As they can have no other tendency than by exciting irritation and animosity among the inhabitants, to disturb the tranquility of this Colony, His Excellency expects you will conduct your publication with more propriety in future and thereby prevent the necessity of a more severe correction.

You are required to publish this Reprimand in your next paper.

C. T. Tinne, Government Secretary
King's House, Stabroek, March 21, 1806."

I tried to find the paragraphs referred to and probably this is one of them:—

"Van Braam has been appointed Grave Digger. From the number of applicants, which we understand there was for the situation, it would seem that the loaves and fishes are no less an object of desire than in Europe."

The newspaper of that day was by no means free and we may presume that is the reason why there was hardly any news. The selections from British papers were, however, very good, and later came letters to the editors, some of which were scurrilous. Some correspondence in 1810 in connection with proposed churches for different sects led to Government interference which checked it for a time.

The matter was of little importance and I can hardly understand why it was checked. However, a Government Notice was issued on July 17, stating that dis-

cussions on Churches were "interdicted by authority."

It appears that Nicolaas Volkerts must have disposed of his interest in the Demerara paper in 1806, and gone to Berbice, for we find him starting the first paper in that colony during this year. The paper was called "The Berbice Gazette," and the file we have from January to June, 1812, shows it as a broadsheet, printed on both sides but not folded. It compares favourably with those of Demerara, in fact, the type appears new and the printing very good. When leaving for Europe Volkerts sold this paper to William Schultz, who carried it on for many years; I knew him as an old man in the seventies, and he once offered to sell me a volume of the Gazette. The Subscription in Volkerts's time was \$12, but later it was 33 guilders, i.e. a Joe and a half (\$13.20). Two Joes was the usual subscription for papers coming out twice or thrice a week and this was kept up to recent times. Two Joes would be \$17.60 at full exchange value but there was a reduction, until the subscription of the Royal Gazette in the seventies was \$14.67. William Schultz added the words "and New Amsterdam Advertiser" to the title of Berbice Gazette and for a time called it "The Berbice Advertiser."

The estimates for 1807 put down the cost of printing for the Colonial section at 2,500 guilders (\$1,000) and we may presume that the Government section paid an equal sum. It was certainly a day of small things.

The names of the two papers before 1814 were "*The Essequibo and Demerary Gazette*," that of Henery being distinguished by the addition of "Royal." In 1814 the older press changed the name of its paper to "The Guiana Chronicle and Georgetown Gazette," and the other became first "The Demerary & Essequibo Royal Gazette," and afterwards "The Royal Gazette: Demerary & Essequibo." The Chronicle existed for many years, but got into difficulties through its correspondence columns. In 1820 it became mixed up in the dispute between Governor Murray and

President Rough in connection with the fees of the Courts of Justice. With the favour of the Governor the Chronicle started a line of scurrilous abuse which ultimately led to its suppression, but the Royal Gazette came down to the eighties.

Before 1820, and in fact for many years after there was an utter absence of what we may call the literary side of the press in British Guiana. There were no books or even pamphlets, beyond translations of Dutch legal documents. I have a Mss. which was probably circulated about 1811, in which the personal element is conspicuous as it was in England, but it could not be safely printed in Demerara.

Almanacs were regularly issued from about 1802, either in sheets or folded; these developed into pocket books containing lists of officials and plantations, as well as translations and digests of Dutch laws and regulations for English readers. They were called Local Guides, the earlier publications being small, but they grew in later years to become compendiums of the laws in force. The earliest in our library is for 1815 and is entitled "The Annual Miscellany or Local Guide." It was published at the Royal Gazette Office, and contained an almanac as well as abstracts of the laws and regulations of the colony. That for 1820, which is also in our library, came from the same office and is called "The Local Guide, conducing to whatever is worthy of notice in the Colony of Demerary and Essequibo."

The first notice I can find of these annuals is an advertisement in the Gazette, of February 22nd, 1812, which states that "A Pocket Almanack for 1812" was just published.

In 1811 we find an advertisement of what afterwards became one of the features of the Local Guides:

"Regulations for the Administration of Justice and the Manner of Proceedings in the Rivers Essequibo and Demerary, framed by the Committee of Ten, and approved by their High Mightinesses, the Lords

States General of the United Netherlands; Dated October 4, 1774; Translated by J. Huiberts, and revised by J. P. Baumgardt, Esq., First Exploiteur at Rio Demerary."

This is said to have been re-printed by Edward James Henery in Georgetown from the same translation published in Berbice. In 1812 the same work appears to have been the main feature in "Every Man his own Lawyer, just published in quarto, price 11 guilders, in Dutch and English, the *Manner* of Proceedings in the Courts of Justice in these Colonies."

The Charter of Berbice in English was on sale at the Berbice Gazette Office in 1812 and in 1816. "The Letters of Derector, the Second Fiscal" etc., at the Royal Gazette Office. The letters were controversial, mainly attacks on the missionary system, first appearing in the Gazette.

The most important book was printed by E. J. Henery at the Royal Gazette Office in 1814. It is a thick octavo of 418 pp. beside the Appendix and Index, and is entitled

"Judicial, Practical & Mercantile Guide for the use of Judges, Lawyers, Merchants and all those who desire to have a general knowledge of Laws. Translated from the Dutch of Joannes van der Linden, Ll.D., Counsellor at Law at Amsterdam. With an Appendix of some Law Terms, etc."

The translator appears to have been L. P. Van Braam, but his name does not appear. There is a good copy in our library.

This work was of such importance that a translation was proposed in 1812 and a Government Notice was issued offering a premium of three thousand guilders for a correct translation into English.

The position of the press in Demerara and Essequibo can be seen from the following extract from a Ms. called "The Talisman" written in 1811; the author is unknown but he must have been English, for he abuses the Dutch laws and the lawyers who enforced them:—

"The indignant feelings of an English heart will exclaim "why"? (i. e., Why not make their grievances known) then, it is because their Governor informs the inhabitants that they are under Dutch Law, where the liberty of the press is completely done away; and no petition can be forwarded or meeting held but by the Governor's authority and control, which completely closes the Door against redress, and acts as a security against the most determined individual, so that his sufferings have to be borne without a murmur, and everything remains at the mercy of sordid caprice or interested motives."

BRITISH GUIANA NEWSPAPERS BEFORE 1820

ESSEQUEBO EN DEMERARY COURANT? 1793-5.

Weekly, Printed and published by J. C. de la Coste, Stabroek. (No copy appears to exist and the title is uncertain.)

THE ROYAL ESSEQUEBO AND DEMERARY GAZETTE, 1796-1802.

Weekly. One Joe (\$8.80) per annum. Printed by Ellis and Cox, Stabroek (now Georgetown). In 1802, printed by Samuel Cox.

The Royal Agricultural and Commercial Society has the following:—

1796, No. 5, September 24th.

1802, No. 319, November 6th ("Royal" left out.)

NIEWE COURANT VAN ESSEQUEBO EN DEMERARY, 1803, Jan.

Weekly. Printed by Nicolaas Volkerts, Gouvernements Boekdrukker.

(No copy known.)

THE ESSEQUEBO AND DEMERARY GAZETTE, 1803—

Weekly. Printed and published by E. J. Henery, Stabroek.

The Colonial Secretary's Office has:—

1803. Oct. 8 to Dec. 31. Nos. 41-53.

1804. Jan. 7 to Dec. 29. Nos. 54-105 (wanting No. 56.)

1805. Jan. 5 to Dec. 28. Nos. 106-157.

1806. Jan. 4 to Dec. 27. Nos. 158-209.

(Nos. 158 to 184 printed by N. Volkerts, Nos. 185 to 209 by T. Bond.)

The Royal Agricultural and Commercial Society has:—

1804. June 10.

1805. June 22.

The Colonial Registrar's Office has:—

1807-8 complete, 2 vols.

(To May 16, 1807, printed by Aulert and Bond.)

THE ESSEQUEBO AND DEMERARY ROYAL GAZETTE.

Tuesdays and Saturdays. Printed by Edward James Henery, Stabroek.

Files in Colonial Secretary's Office:—

1810-1813, '15. Vols. V-VIII, X. Five volumes complete.

Royal Agricultural and Commercial Society has:—

1812. Feb. 15.

June 9.

Oct. 6.

1814. Aug. 6 to 23, Dec. 10.

Colonial Registrar's Office has:—

1810. Jan. to Oct. 6.

1811. Complete.

THE ROYAL GAZETTE: DEMERARY AND ESSEQUEBO.

Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays. Printed by William Baker.

Colonial Secretary's Office has:—

1816-20. Complete.

Colonial Registrar's Office has:—

1820. Complete.

Royal Agricultural and Commercial Society has:—

1819. April 6.

April 10.

May 25 to Aug. 19.

1820. Complete.

THE ESSEQUEBO AND DEMERARY GAZETTE.

Wednesdays and Saturdays. Printed by Aulert and Stevenson.

Colonial Secretary's Office has:—

1813. Complete.

THE GULANA CHRONICLE AND GEORGETOWN GAZETTE, 1814—

Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays. Printed by Aulert and Stevenson or A. Stevenson.

Royal Agricultural and Commercial Society has:—

1816. June 14.

1817. Dec. 10.

1819. April 23.

June 7 and 14.

1819. Dec. 22.

1820. Complete. ("Demerara" not Georgetown Gazette.)

BERBICE GAZETTE, 1806—

Saturdays. Printed by N. Volkerts, New Amsterdam, Berbice. Subscriptions \$12.

Royal Agricultural and Commercial Society has:—

1812. Jan. 4 to June 13.

NOTE With the exception of the last the papers were all published in Georgetown, Demerara, Stabroek until 1812 when the name was changed.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS, 1690-1820.

PART X: NORTH CAROLINA

COMPILED BY CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM

The following bibliography attempts, first, to present a historical sketch of every newspaper printed in the United States from 1690 to 1820; secondly, to locate all files found in the various libraries of the country; and thirdly, to give a complete check list of the issues in the library of the American Antiquarian Society.

The historical sketch of each paper gives the title, the date of establishment, the name of the editor or publisher, the frequency of issue and the date of discontinuance. It also attempts to give the exact date of issue when a change in title or name of publisher or frequency of publication occurs.

In locating files to be found in various libraries, no attempt is made to list every issue. In the case of common papers which are to be found in many libraries, only the longer files are noted, with a description of their completeness. Rare newspapers, which are known by only a few scattered issues, are minutely listed.

The check list of the issues in the library of the American Antiquarian Society follows the style of the Library of Congress "Check List of Eighteenth Century Newspapers," and records all supplements, missing issues and mutilations.

The arrangement is alphabetical by States and towns. Towns are placed according to their present State location. For convenience of alphabetization, the initial "The" in the titles of papers is disregarded. Papers are considered to be of

folio size, unless otherwise
except in the names of the
these should be easily used
used in the listing of the
copy. The bibliography
not list magazines; the
to draw, but the test has
news. Neither in the
files is any account taken
1820.

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NORTH CAROLINA

[Edenton] Encyclopedian Instructor, 1800.

Weekly. Established May 14, 1800, judging from the first and only issue located, that of May 21, 1800, vol. 1, no. 2, entitled "The Encyclopedian Instructor, and Farmer's Gazette," printed by James Wills, and edited by Robert Archibald. Some of the advertisements were continued from an earlier paper.

A. A. S. has:

1800. May 21.

Edenton Gazette, 1800.

Weekly. A continuation, without change of volume numbering, of "The Post-Angel, or Universal Entertainment." The first issue with the new title of "The Edenton Gazette" was that of Nov. 19, 1800, vol. 1, no. 10, published by Joseph Beasley. The last issue located is that of Dec. 11, 1800, vol. 1, no. 13.

Univ. of N. C. has Nov. 19, Dec. 11, 1800.

Edenton Gazette, 1806-1820+.

Weekly. Established Jan. 1, 1806, judging from the earliest issue located, that of Feb. 26, 1806, vol. 1, no. 9, printed by James Wills and Joseph Beasley, with the title of "The Edenton Gazette, and North-Carolina Advertiser." In 1807, Beasley started a newspaper at Elizabeth City, and Wills became sole publisher. With the issue of Feb. 17, 1809, the title was shortened to "The Edenton Gazette," but at some time between May 25, 1813 and July 11, 1814, it was changed to "The Edenton Gazette, and North-Carolina General Advertiser." The paper was so continued by Wills until after 1820.

N. C. State Lib. has Sept. 17, 1807-Apr. 20, 1813. Dr. Richard Dillard, Edenton, has Jan. 1819-Dec. 1820.

A. A. S. has:

- 1806. Feb. 26.
Oct. 29.
Nov. 26.
- 1808. Apr. 27.
June 9.
Oct. 20.
- 1810. June 22.
- 1814. July 11.
Nov. 14.
- 1818. May 12.

[Edenton] *Herald of Freedom*, 1799.

Weekly. A continuation, without change of volume numbering, of the "State Gazette of North-Carolina." The earliest issue located with the title of "The Herald of Freedom" is that of Mar. 27, 1799, vol. 14, no. 680, published by James Wills. The last issue located is that of May 1, 1799, vol. 14, no. 684.

Harvard has Mar. 27, May 1, 1799.

Edenton Intelligencer, 1787-1788.

Weekly. Established Oct. 2, 1787, judging from the date of the first and only issue located, that of June 4, 1788, vol. 1, no. 33, entitled "The Edenton Intelligencer," and printed for Maurice Murphy.

La. State Museum has June 4, 1788.

[Edenton] *Post-Angel*, 1800.

Weekly. Established Sept. 3, 1800, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Sept. 10, 1800, vol. 1, no. 2, entitled "The Post-Angel, or Universal Entertainment," and printed for Robert Archibald by Joseph Beasley. The last issue with this title was that of Nov. 12, 1800, vol. 1, no. 9, after which the title was changed to "The Edenton Gazette."

Univ. of N. C. has Sept. 10, Nov. 12, 1800. Lib. Congress has Nov. 12, 1800.

Edenton] State Gazette of North - Carolina, 1788 - 1799.

Weekly. Removed from Newbern and established at Edenton, without change of title or volume numbering, in 1788. The earliest Edenton issue located is that of Sept. 8, 1788, vol. 3, no. 140, published by Hodge & Wills (Abraham Hodge and Henry Wills), with the title of "The State Gazette of North-Carolina." The issue of Aug. 26, 1791 states that this number completes three years of publication in this town. In 1793, Hodge's name was omitted from the imprint and the paper was published by Henry Wills, although the earliest issue located with his imprint is that of May 11, 1793, which issue was entitled "State Gazette of North-Carolina." With the issue of Nov. 2, 1797, Henry Wills retired and his brother, James Wills, became publisher. The last issue located is that of Feb. 6, 1799, vol. 14, no. 674. Before Mar. 27, 1799, the title was changed to "The Herald of Freedom," which see.

Lib. Congress has Sept. 8, 1788 - July 23, 1790. Univ. of N. C. has May 28, 1790 - Apr. 22, 1791. Harvard has June 10-24, July 8, Aug. 26 - Sept. 23, Nov. 11, 1791; Feb. 19, 26, Apr. 30, May 14 - June 11, July 23, Sept. 10, Dec. 17, 24, 1795; Mar. 17-31, Apr. 21, 28, May 19, June 9, 16, 30 - Nov. 17, Dec. 1, 22, 29, 1796; Jan. 5-26, Feb. 9 - Mar. 30, Apr. 13, 20, May 18, June 8, 29, Aug. 10, 31 - Sept. 14, 28, Oct. 5, Nov. 2, Dec. 21, 1797; Jan. 18, Feb. 1, Mar. 1, May 24, 31, July 4, 18, Aug. 8, 1798; Feb. 6, 1799. Phil. Lib. Co. has Oct. 12, 1793. Dr. Richard Dillard, Edenton, has Oct. 3, 1794. A. A. S. has:

1792. Mar. 30.

1793. May 11, 25.

June 1.

Aug. 17.

Sept. 21.

1794. Jan. 4, 31.

Feb. 7.

1796. Jan. 14.

Feb. 4.

Mar. 3.

1796. May 19.
 June 2, 16.
 July 7.
 Oct. 20, 27.
 Dec. 22, 29.
 Extra: June 2.
1797. Jan. 5, 12, 19.
 Mar. 16.
 June 22, 29.
 July 13, 27.
 Aug. 10.
 Sept. 7.
 Nov. 2.
 Dec. 21.
 Supplement: Jan. 12, June 22.
1798. Mar. 1.
 May 10, 24.
 July 4^m.
 Aug. 29.
 Oct. 31.
 Dec. 26.
1799. Jan. 2, 23, 30.
 Feb. 20.

Elizabeth - City Gazette, 1807 - 1808.

Weekly. Established July 31, 1807, by Joseph Beasley, with the title of "The Elizabeth-City Gazette, and Public Advertiser." The last issue located is that of Jan. 14, 1808, vol. 1, no. 25.

A. A. S. has:

1807. July 31.
 Aug. 13, 20.
 Dec. 31.
1808. Jan. 7, 14.

[Fayetteville] American, 1813 - 1817.

Weekly. Established in February, 1813, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Oct. 13, 1814, vol. 2, no. 87, published by A[———] F. Bowell, with the

title of "The American." At some time between the date of this issue and Apr. 26, 1816,—Black was admitted to partnership and the paper was published by *Bowell & Black*. The last issue located is that of Jan. 9, 1817, vol. 4, no. 48.

Wis. Hist. Soc. has Apr. 26, 1816. Lib. Congress has Oct. 10, 17, Nov. 14, 21, Dec. 5, 1816; Jan. 9, 1817. A. A. S. has:

1814. Oct. 13.

1816. Sept. 26.

[Fayetteville] Carolina Observer, 1816.

Weekly. Established June 20, 1816, by Francis W. Waldo, with the title of "Carolina Observer."

A. A. S. has:

1816. Aug. 22^m.

1817. Jan. 30.

Feb. 6, 27.

Apr. 24.

1818. Apr. 30.

Fayetteville Gazette, 1789.

Weekly. Established Aug. 24, 1789, by Burkloe & Mears (—— Burkloe and —— Mears), with the title of "Fayetteville Gazette." The issues from Sept. 14 to Oct. 12, 1789, were published by Sibley and Howard (John Sibley and Caleb D. Howard). Evidently the title was soon changed to "The North-Carolina Chronicle; or, Fayetteville Gazette," which see.

N. C. Hist. Comm., Raleigh, has Aug. 24, 1789. Univ. of N. C. has Sept. 14, 21, Oct. 12, 1789.

Fayetteville Gazette, 1792-1794.

Weekly. Established Aug. 7, 1792, with the title of "Fayetteville Gazette," printed by Alexander Martin, for John Sibley. At some time between June 11 and Nov. 19, 1793, the title was altered to "The Fayetteville Gazette" and the paper was printed by Lancelot A. Mullin, for John Sibley. The issue of Nov. 19, 1793, vol.

2, no. 65, is the last located, although an issue as late as Jan. 14, 1794 is quoted in C. L. Coon's "N. C. Schools and Academies," p. 60, but is not now to be found.

A. A. S. has:

1792. Aug. 7.
Sept. 25.
Oct. 2, 9, 16, 23, 30.
Nov. 6, 27.
Dec. 11.
1793. Jan. 2.
Mar. 5, 12.
May 21, 28.
June 4.
Nov. 19.

Fayetteville Intelligencer, 1809-1811.

Weekly. A continuation, without change of volume numbering, of the "North-Carolina Intelligencer, and Fayetteville Advertiser." Although the change of title probably occurred in 1809, the earliest issue located with the new title was that of Mar. 22, 1811, vol. 5, no. 260, published by Ray and Black (—— Ray and —— Black), with the title of "Fayetteville Intelligencer." This is furthermore the only issue located.

A. A. S. has:

1811. Mar. 22.

[Fayetteville] North-Carolina Centinel, 1795.

Weekly. Established May 30, 1795, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of July 25, 1795, no. 9, published by Thomas Connoly & Co., with the title of "The North-Carolina Centinel and Fayetteville Gazette." With the issue of either Aug. 22 or 29, 1795, the paper was published by J[——] V. Lewis and T. Connoly. The last issue located is that of Aug. 29, 1795, no. 14. Connoly's press and types were bought by Abraham Hodge (see his advertisement in "The North-Carolina Journal" of Halifax, Jan. 11, 1796).

Harvard has July 25, Aug. 8, 15, 29, 1795.

[Fayetteville] North-Carolina Chronicle, 1790-1791.

Weekly. A continuation, without change of volume numbering, of the "Fayetteville Gazette." The change probably occurred early in January, 1790, although the earliest issue located with the new title of "The North-Carolina Chronicle; or, Fayetteville Gazette" was that of Feb. 1, 1790, vol. 1, no. 23, published by Sibley & Howard (John Sibley and Caleb D. Howard). With the issue of Sept. 13, 1790, the paper was changed from a four-page folio to a quarto of eight pages, and was printed by George Roulstone for John Sibley & Co. With the issue of Oct. 11, 1790, it was printed by Howard & Roulstone for John Sibley & Co. It was discontinued with the issue of Mar. 7, 1791, vol. 2, no. 26.

Univ. of N. C. has Sept. 13, 1790-Mar. 7, 1791. Archibald Henderson, Chapel Hill, N. C. has Nov. 22, 1790. A. A. S. has:

1790. Feb. 1.
May 10, 24, 31.
June 7.
July 19.

[Fayetteville] North-Carolina Intelligencer, 1805-1809.

Weekly. Established Nov. 2, 1805, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Jan. 18, 1806, vol. 1, no. 12, published by Ray and Black (—— Ray and —— Black), with the title of "North-Carolina Intelligencer, and Fayetteville Advertiser." Early in 1809, judging from quotations in contemporaneous newspapers, the title was changed to "Fayetteville Intelligencer," which see.

Harvard has Jan. 18, 1806. A. A. S. has:

1806. Aug. 16.
Oct. 11.
1807. Apr. 17.
May 15.
1808. June 17.

[Fayetteville] North - Carolina Minerva, 1796 - 1799.

Weekly. Established Mar. 24, 1796, by Hodge and Boylan (Abraham Hodge and William Boylan), with the title of "The North-Carolina Minerva, and Fayetteville Advertiser." It was so continued until April, 1799, when it was removed to Raleigh and there reestablished, May 7, 1799, without change of volume numbering. The last Fayetteville issue located is that of Mar. 23, 1799, vol. 4, no. 157.

Harvard has Mar. 31, Apr. 21, May 12, June 9 - July 9, 23, 30, Aug. 13 - Oct. 1, 15 - Dec. 3, 31, 1796; Jan. 7 - Apr. 15, May 13, June 3, 10, Nov. 4, 18, 1797; Feb. 10, 17, Mar. 3, 24, May 12, 19, June 16 - July 7, Aug. 11, Nov. 3, Dec. 1, 15, 1798; Jan. 26, Feb. 9, Mar. 16, 23, 1799. A. A. S. has: 1798. Nov. 17.

[Halifax] 1784.

James Iredell, in writing to his wife, under date of Mar. 28, 1784, says, "They have begun to print a newspaper at Halifax, which is to be continued weekly. The only one of them I have seen contains instructions from the county of Northampton" (McRee's "Life of Iredell, vol. 2, p. 96). Neither the title of this paper nor the name of the printer is known. It probably was printed by Thomas Davis, since he was printing the State laws at Halifax during this year.

[Halifax] North Carolina Comp. 1819.

In the "Columbian Museum" of Savannah, of Mar. 27, 1819, is a quotation from the "Halifax N. C. Comp." The title may have been "Compendium," or "Compiler." No copy located.

[Halifax] North - Carolina Journal, 1792 - 1812.

Weekly. Established July 18, 1792, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Aug. 1, 1792, no. 3, published by Hodge & Wills (Abraham Hodge and Henry Wills), with the title of "The North-Carolina Journal." With the issue of Feb. 6, 1793, the firm dissolved partnership, and Abraham Hodge became sole

publisher. Hodge died Aug. 3, 1805, and in the issue of Aug. 5, William Boylan, his nephew, announced that the paper would be suspended for a few weeks until a new printer was secured. The next issue was that of Sept. 30, 1805, which was printed by James L. Edwards, for the heirs of Abraham Hodge. With the issue of Aug. 11, 1806, the paper was printed for the heirs of Abraham Hodge, without a printer's name. With the issue of Oct. 13, 1806, it was printed by Thomas Henderson, Jun., for the heirs of Abraham Hodge. The issue of Mar. 2, 1807, no. 755, was the last printed by Henderson, and the paper was then sold by William Boylan, who had inherited it from his uncle, to William W. Seaton. Seaton's first issue was that of Mar. 9, 1807, published with the same title, but with a new volume numbering. In 1808, at some time before Sept. 26, Wright W. Batchelor became the publisher. The last issue located is that of Dec. 17, 1810, vol. 3, no. 143. Wright W. Batchelor, "Editor of the North Carolina Journal," died at Halifax in February, 1812 ("Raleigh Register," Feb. 28, 1812).

Lib. Congress has Aug. 1, 1792-May 20, 1799; May 12, 1800; May 11, 1801; Dec. 14, 1807. Hist. Soc. Penn. has Jan. 12, 1795-Dec. 10, 1798. Harvard has Apr. 27, May 18, 25, June 15-29, July 13-27, Aug. 10-31, Nov. 16, Dec. 28, 1795; Jan. 4, 18, Apr. 11-May 2, 16, 23, June 20-July 25, Aug. 15-29, Sept. 12-Oct. 17, Nov. 7, 14, Dec. 26, 1796; Jan. 2, 16, 30, Apr. 17, Dec. 25, 1797; Jan. 1, Nov. 12, 1798; Feb. 10, Mar. 10, Apr. 7, 21, Oct. 20, 1800. N. C. Hist. Comm., Raleigh, has Sept. 19, 1796. Univ. of N. C. has May 9, 16, July 4, 11, 1796; Sept. 13, 1802; Jan. 7, 1805-Mar. 2, 1807. John G. Wood, Edenton, has Nov. 12, 1798-Dec. 27, 1802. A. A. S. has:

1794. Jan. 1 to Dec. 29.

Mutilated: Jan. 15, Mar. 19, May 21.

Missing: Jan. 1, 8.

1795. Jan. 5 to Dec. 28.

Supplement: Sept. 21, Oct. 5.

Mutilated: Apr. 13, 20.

1796. Jan. 4 to Dec. 26.
Extra: Apr. 4.
Missing: Dec. 26.
1798. Jan. 29.
1800. Sept. 15.
Dec. 22.
1801. July 13.
1802. Jan. 25.
1803. July 4.
1807. Mar. 9.
June 1, 15^m.
July 6, 13, 27.
Aug. 3, 17.
Sept 7, 14.
Dec. 14. 21.
1808. Sept. 26.
Nov. 7.
Dec. 26.
1809. Jan. 16.
Oct. 16, 30.
1810. June 4.
Dec. 17.

[Hillsborough] *North Carolina Gazette*, 1786.

Weekly. The only copy located is that of Feb. 16, 1786, entitled "The North Carolina Gazette," and printed by Robert Ferguson for Thomas Davis, but without a volume number.

Univ. of N. C. has Feb. 16, 1786.

Hillsborough Recorder, 1820+.

Weekly. Established Feb. 9, 1820, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Mar. 15, 1820, vol. 1, no. 6, published by Dennis Heartt, with the title of "Hillsborough Recorder." Continued until after 1820.

Univ. of N. C. has Mar 15-Dec. 27, 1820.

[Lincolnton] 1802.

F. A. Michaux, in his "Travels" (Edition of 1805, p. 267) states "At Lincolnton they print a newspaper in folio

that comes out twice a week. The price of subscription is two dollars per year." The time of this visit was October, 1802. J. M. Slump is known to have printed at "Lincolntown" in 1800 (see Sabin's "Dictionary," no. 43097). No copy of the newspaper has been located.

Milton Intelligencer, 1818-1820+.

Weekly. Established in July, 1818, judging from the date of the first and only issue located, that of June 4, 1819, vol. 1, no. 46, published by John H. Perkins, with the title of "Milton Intelligencer." John H. Perkins, "editor of the Milton Intelligencer," was married July 26, 1821, to Susan Royal ("Raleigh Register," Aug. 17, 1821).

A. A. S. has:

1819. June 4.

[Murfreesborough] Hornets' Nest, 1812-1813.

Weekly. Established Sept. 3, 1812, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Oct. 1, 1812, vol. 1, no. 5, published by Dickinson & Huntington (——— Dickinson and Minor Huntington), with the title of "The Hornets' Nest." The paper was edited under the pseudonym of "Bryant Bramble, Esq." The last issue located is that of Apr. 22, 1813, vol. 1, no. 34.

A. A. S. has:

1812. Oct. 1.

Dec. 31.

1813. Jan. 7.

Mar. 18.

Apr. 22.

[New Bern] Carolina Centinel, 1818-1820+.

Weekly. Established Mar. 21, 1818, by John I. Pasteur, with the title of "Carolina Centinel". With the issue of Mar. 25, 1820, Thomas Watson was admitted to partnership, and the paper was published by Pasteur & Watson, and was so continued until after 1820.

Lib. Congress has Mar. 21, 1818-Dec. 30, 1820. New-bern Lib. Assoc. and N. Y. Hist. Soc. have Mar. 28, 1818-Dec. 30, 1820. Harvard has Dec. 4, 1819-Dec. 30,

1820. E. W. Smallwood, Newbern, has Mar. 25 - Dec. 30,

1820. A. A. S. has:

1819. Apr. 24.

[Newbern] Carolina Federal Republican, 1809-1818.

Weekly. Established Jan. 5, 1809, by John S. Pasteur, with the title of "The Carolina Federal Republican." Pasteur died Nov. 17, 1809, and the paper was published by Hall and Bryan (Salmon Hall and ——— Bryan). With the issue of Jan. 18, 1812, S. Hall became sole publisher and continued the paper as far as the last issue located, that of Apr. 25, 1818, vol. 10, no. 486.

N. Y. Hist. Soc. has June 30, July 21 - Aug. 18, Sept. 1, 1810; Feb. 25, 1811; July 6, 1816 - Apr. 25, 1818. Lib. Congress has Jan. 4, 1812 - Dec. 25, 1813. Archibald Henderson, Chapel Hill, N. C., has Nov. 17, 1810. A. A. S. has:

1809. Jan. 12.
Feb. 9, 16, 23.
Mar. 30.

1810. Feb. 12.
Apr. 16.
May 26.
June 16.

Newbern Gazette, 1798-1804.

Weekly. Established in April, 1798, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Nov. 24, 1798, vol. 1, no. 34, entitled "The Newbern Gazette," printed for John C. Osborn & Co. At some time between August, 1799, and May, 1800, John S. Pasteur became the publisher. Late in 1800 or early in 1801, the title was altered to "The Newbern Gazette. And Political and Miscellaneous Register," but in 1803 or 1804, it reverted to "The Newbern Gazette." The last issue located is that of Mar. 9, 1804, vol. 7, no. 310.

Lib. Congress has Nov. 24 - Dec. 29, 1798; Jan. 12, 26 - Mar. 16, 1799; May 23, Aug. 15, 1800; Apr. 25, 1801. Harvard has July 20, 1799. A. A. S. has:

1803. June 10.

1804. Mar. 9.

Newbern Herald, 1809-1810.

Weekly. A continuation, without change of volume numbering, of "The Morning Herald." The earliest issue located with the new title of "Newbern Herald" is that of Jan. 20, 1809, vol. 2, no. 99, the change having occurred probably on Jan. 6, 1809. The publishers were Watson and Hall (Thomas Watson and Salmon Hall). With the issue of Mar. 2, 1809, the partnership was dissolved and the paper was published by Thomas Watson. The last issue located is that of Feb. 26, 1810, vol. 3, no. 156. In March, the title was changed to "The True Republican, and Newbern Weekly Advertiser," published by Thomas Watson, without change of volume numbering.

Lib. Congress has Dec. 18, 1809. A. A. S. has:

1809. Jan. 20.

Feb. 2, 9, 16, 23.

Mar. 2, 9, 16, 30.

Apr. 15, 22, 29.

May 13, 20.

June 10.

Sept. 9, 30.

Nov. 27.

Dec. 4.

1810. Jan. 8, 22, 29.

Feb. 26.

[New Bern] Martin's North - Carolina Gazette, see under North Carolina Gazette, 1786-1797.

[Newbern] Morning Herald, 1807-1808.

Weekly. Established early in March, 1807, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Sept. 17, 1807, vol. 1, no. 29, published by Watson and Hall (Thomas Watson and Salmon Hall), with the title of "The Morning Herald." Early in January, 1809, the title was changed to "Newbern Herald," which see.

Lib. Congress has Sept. 17, Oct. 1, 1807. A. A. S. has:

1808. Nov. 18.

Dec. 2, 9, 23, 30.

[Newbern] *North Carolina Circular*, 1803-1805.

Weekly. Established July 15, 1803, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Sept. 23, 1803, vol. 1, no. 11, published by Franklin & Garrow (—— Franklin and —— Garrow), with the title of "The North Carolina Circular, and Newbern Weekly Advertiser." There were frequent minor changes in the punctuation of the title. The last issue located is that of July 10, 1805, vol. 3, no. 106.

Harvard has Oct. 28-Dec. 16, 1803; Aug. 10, 24, Sept. 28, Oct. 5, Nov. 23, Dec. 7, 21, 1804; Feb. 15, Mar. 8, 15, July 10, 1805. A. A. S. has:

1803. Sept. 23.

1804. Feb. 24.

[New Bern] *North - Carolina Gazette*, 1755-1759.

Weekly. Established May 2, 1755, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Apr. 15, 1757, no. 103, published by James Davis, with the title of "The Noth. Carolina Gazette." The issue of May 2, presumably the initial issue, is quoted in "The Pennsylvania Gazette" of May 29, 1755. The next and only other issue located is that of Oct. 18, 1759, no. 200. It was this issue that caused Thomas, in his "History of Printing," 1874 ed., vol. 2, p. 166, to assume that the paper was established in December, 1755, whereas the volume numbering of the two issues would show that there was a hiatus in publication of nearly seven months. Thomas states that the paper was continued for about six years, but no copy is known after 1759.

British Public Record Office, London, has Apr. 15, 1757. A. A. S. has:

1759. Oct. 18.

[New Bern] *North - Carolina Gazette*, 1768-1778.

Weekly. Established May 27, 1768, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of June 24, 1768,

no. 5, published by James Davis, with the title of "The North-Carolina Gazette." The last issue located is that of Nov. 30, 1778, no. 456. Publication was occasionally suspended during this period.

British Public Record Office, London, has Nov. 10, 1769; Sept. 2, 1774; Feb. 24, Apr. 14, 1775. N. Y. Pub. Lib. has July 15, 1774; Oct. 6, Dec. 22, 1775. N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Mar. 24, Apr. 7, May 5, 12, June 30, July 7, 14, 1775. John G. Wood, Edenton, has June 16, 1775. Univ. of N. C. has July 4, 1777-Nov. 30, 1778. A. A. S. has:

1768. June 24.

ew Bern] North-Carolina Gazette, 1786-1797.

Weekly. Established in the first part of January, 1786, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of July 11, 1787, vol. 2, no. 80, of quarto size, published by Francis X. Martin with the title of "Martin's North-Carolina Gazette." The next issue located is that of Dec. 19, 1787, of folio size, called "Martin's North Carolina Gazette," and the next, that of Apr. 1, 1790, vol. 5, no. 221, of quarto size, is entitled "The North-Carolina Gazette." In 1792 or 1793, the title was shortened to "North-Carolina Gazette" and the size again enlarged to folio. Martin continued the paper to the time of the last issue located, that of Aug. 5, 1797, vol. 12, no. 603.

La. State Museum has July 11, Dec. 19, 1787. Harvard has June 4, July 2, 16, Sept. 24, Nov. 5, 1791; Feb. 14, 21, May 23-June 6, 20, July 4, 11, 1795; Mar. 5, Apr. 30, May 14, 28, June 25-July 16, Aug. 6, 20, Sept. 3-17, Oct. 1, 22-Dec. 17, 31, 1796; Jan. 7, 21-Feb. 4, 25, Mar. 11-25, Apr. 8, 15, 1797. Phil. Lib. Co. has Oct. 12, 19, 1793; Oct. 24-Nov. 14, Dec. 26, 1795; Jan. 2, Feb. 13, 27, Apr. 2, 9, May 21-June 18, July 2-16, 1796. Univ. of N. C. has June 7, 1794; Oct. 8, 1796; Aug. 5, 1797. A. A. S. has:

1790. Apr. 1, 15.

1794. Jan. 4.

[New Bern] North Carolina Magazine, 1764-1768.

Weekly. Established June 8, 1764, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of July 6, 1764, vol. 1, no. 5, published by James Davis, with the title of "The North-Carolina Magazine; or, Universal Intelligencer." It was a newspaper of quarto size, with eight pages to the issue, but with the issue of Dec. 28, 1764 it was decreased in size to four pages. It was continued probably until 1768 (Martin's "History of North Carolina," vol. 2, p. 186, and "North Carolina University Magazine," vol. 3, p. 40), although no copies have been located later than Jan. 18, 1765, vol. 2, no. 33.

Lib. Congress has July 6, 1764-Jan. 18, 1765.

[Newbern] State Gazette of North - Carolina, 1785-1788.

Weekly. Established in November, 1785, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Oct. 4, 1787, vol. 2, no. 99, published by Hodge & Blanchard (Abraham Hodge and ——— Blanchard), with the title of "The State Gazette of North-Carolina." At some time between Nov. 15, 1787, and Mar. 27, 1788, Blanchard was replaced by Henry Wills, and the paper was published by Hodge & Wills. In the summer of 1788, the paper was removed to Edenton, where it was continued under the same title and by the same publishers. It is stated that the removal was induced by James Iredell (McRee's "Life of Iredell," vol. 2, p. 231), and judging by the volume numbering the transfer caused a suspension of two months in publication. The last Newbern issue located is that of Mar. 27, 1788, vol. 3, no. 124. See under Edenton.

Lib. Congress has Oct. 4, 1787. N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Nov. 15, 1787. N. C. Hist. Comm., Raleigh, has Mar. 27, 1788.

[Newbern] True Republican, 1810-1811.

Weekly. A continuation, without change of volume numbering, of the "Newbern Herald." The change of title came in March, 1810, but the earliest issue located is that of Apr. 2, 1810, vol. 4, no. 161, published by Thomas

Watson, with the title of "The True Republican, and Newbern Weekly Advertiser." The last issue located is that of Aug. 7, 1811, vol. 5, no. 230.

N. Y. Hist. Soc. has July 25-Aug. 15, Sept. 5, 1810.

A. A. S. has:

1810. Apr. 2, 16, 23.
May 7.
June 2, 16, 23.
July 14.
Aug. 1.
Sept. 5.
Oct. 10, 17, 24.
Nov. 7, 21, 28.
Dec. 5, 25.

1811. Jan. 8, 15.
Feb. 19.
Mar. 26.
June 12, 19.
July 17.
Aug. 7.

[Raleigh] *Minerva*, 1803-1820+.

Weekly. A continuation, without change of volume numbering, of "The North-Carolina Minerva." The first issue with the title of "Minerva; or, Anti-Jacobin" was that of May 2, 1803, vol. 8, no. 369, published by William Boylan. Early in 1805, the title was shortened to "The Minerva." With the issue of Nov. 30, 1809, the title was altered to "The Raleigh Minerva." On May 24, 1810, Alexander Lucas became associated with Boylan as editor, although his name did not appear in the imprint. With the issue of Nov. 29, 1810, William Boylan retired and the paper was published by [Alexander] Lucas and A[braham] H. Boylan. At some time between May 1, 1812, and June 30, 1815, Alexander Lucas became sole publisher. At some time between Dec. 4, 1818, and Oct. 29, 1819, the firm name became Lucas and Harvey, and the paper was so continued until after 1820.

Harvard has May 2-June 13, 27-Aug. 29, Sept. 19-Dec. 26, 1803; Jan. 9, 23, Mar. 26, Aug. 27, 1804; June 3, Aug. 12, Dec. 23, 1805. Lib. Congress has May 16, 1803-Dec. 31, 1804; Dec. 24, 1807; Sept. 15, 1815; Apr. 26, May 24, 31, June 14, 21, July 26, Aug. 9, Oct. 18, Nov. 1, 1816; Mar. 21, 1817. Univ. of N. C. has Jan. 5, 1807-Dec. 29, 1808. N. C. Hist. Comm., Raleigh, has Jan. 5-Nov. 23, 1809, on loan from Mrs. James Boylan. N. C. State Lib. has Nov. 30, 1809-Nov. 22, 1810; Oct. 29, 1819-Dec. 31, 1820. Mass. Hist. Soc. has Dec. 4, 1818. A. A. S. has:

- 1803. Aug. 1.
- 1804. Mar. 12, 19.
- 1806. Oct. 20.
- 1808. July 14, 21.
- 1809. Sept. 21.
Nov. 16.
- 1810. Mar. 1, 15, 29.
Apr. 5.
May 10, 24.
June 7, 28^m.
July 5, 19, 26.
Aug. 9.
Sept. 13, 20.
Oct. 11.
- 1811. Feb. 7, 21, 28.
Mar. 14.
Apr. 5.
May 17.
June 21.
Oct. 11.
- 1812. May 1.
- 1815. June 30^m.
- 1816. Nov. 15, 22.
Dec. 6, 13.

[Raleigh] North-Carolina Minerva, 1799-1803.

Weekly. Removed from Fayetteville and established

at Raleigh, without change of publisher or volume numbering, on May 7, 1799. The earliest Raleigh issue located is that of May 28, 1799, vol. 4, no. 163, published by Hodge and Boylan (Abraham Hodge and William Boylan), with the title of "The North-Carolina Minerva, and Raleigh Advertiser." Late in 1800, the title was shortened to "The North-Carolina Minerva." The last issue with this title was that of Apr. 25, 1803, vol. 8, no. 368, when it was changed to "Minerva; or, Anti-Jacobin," and Hodge retired from the firm. See under "Minerva."

Harvard has May 28, July 9, Sept. 10, Oct. 8, 29, Dec. 17, 1799; Jan. 7, 21, 28, Mar. 11-Apr. 1, 22, Aug. 19, 26, Oct. 14, 1800; Jan. 6, 20, Feb. 10-24, Mar. 24-Apr. 21, May 6, July 21, 28, Aug. 25, Sept. 15, 29, Oct. 6, Dec. 15-29, 1801; Jan. 5, 19, Feb. 2, 16, 23, Mar. 9, Apr. 26, May 3, 17, June 1-29, July 13-Nov. 9, 30, Dec. 7, 21, 28, 1802; Jan. 11-Feb. 1, 15, 22, Mar. 7-Apr. 18, 1803. Univ. of N. C. has Aug. 27, 1799; Mar. 11 Extra, Aug. 12, 1800. Lib. Congress has Dec. 23, 1800; Jan. 4-Apr. 11, 1803. A. A. S. has:

1799. Nov. 26.

1800. Mar. 20.

1802. Feb. 23.

Raleigh Register, 1799-1820+.

Weekly. Established Oct. 22, 1799, by Joseph Gales, with the title of "Raleigh Register, and North-Carolina Weekly Advertiser." With the issue of Dec. 2, 1800, the title was changed to "Raleigh Register, and North-Carolina State Gazette." The printing-office was burned Jan. 29, 1804, and the issues to Mar. 26 following were printed on half sheets. Semi-weekly issues were published from Nov. 22 to Dec. 13, 1804, to cover the sessions of the State legislature. With the issue of Jan. 5, 1809, William W. Seaton, who married Gales' daughter, was admitted to partnership, under the firm name of Gales & Seaton. With the issue of Dec. 27, 1811, the title was altered to "Raleigh Register, and North-Carolina Gazette." With the issue of Oct. 23, 1812, Joseph Gales became sole pro-

prietor, Seaton having removed to Washington to conduct with Joseph Gales, Jr., the "National Intelligencer." The paper was continued by the elder Gales until after 1820.

N. C. State Lib. has Oct. 22, 1799-Dec. 29, 1815; Jan. 2, 1818-Dec. 29, 1820. Harvard has Aug. 25, 1801-Dec. 29, 1806, fair. Lib. Congress has Feb. 10, 1801; Oct. 1, 1807, Dec. 14, 1809; Jan. 9, 1818-Dec. 29, 1820. A. A. S. has:

- 1800. Feb. 4.
Apr. 1, 15.
Nov. 18^m.
Dec. 2.
- 1802. Jan. 5.
Mar. 23.
- 1804. May 7, 21.
June 11.
Aug. 20.
Sept. 3.
Oct. 22, 29.
Nov. 22, 26.
- 1805. Jan. 14, 21, 28.
Feb. 25.
Mar. 4, 18.
May 20.
June 10, 24.
Aug. 12.
Nov. 25.
- 1806. Feb. 17.
Apr. 28.
May 5, 12.
June 23.
July 7, 14, 21.
Oct. 6.
Nov. 10, 17, 24.
Dec. 8, 22.
- 1807. Jan. 5, 12, 19, 26.
Feb. 2, 9, 23.

- 1807.** Mar. 2, 16, 30.
Apr. 6, 13, 16, 23.
May 21, 28.
June 11, 25.
July 9.
Aug. 6.
Sept. 3.
- 1808.** Jan. 7.
Feb. 18.
Mar. 3, 17, 24, 31.
Apr. 14.
May 5.
Sept. 29^m.
Oct. 13^m, 20.
Nov. 3^m, 10^m.
Dec. 29.
- 1809.** Apr. 6.
May 4, 25.
Aug. 31.
Dec. 14, 28.
- 1810.** Jan. 11, 25.
Feb. 1, 8, 15, 22.
Mar. 15, 22, 29.
Apr. 5, 12, 19.
May 3, 10, 24.
June 14, 21, 28.
July 5, 12, 19, 28.
Aug. 9, 16, 23.
Sept. 20.
Oct. 4, 18^m, 25.
Nov. 1, 22, 29.
Dec. 6, 13, 20, 27.
- 1811.** Jan. 3, 10, 17, 31.
Feb. 14, 21, 28.
Mar. 7, 14, 21.
Apr. 12, 26.
May 3, 10, 24.
June 7, 14, 21, 28.

1811. July 5.
 Aug. 2.
 Sept. 20^m.
 Oct. 4, 11.
 Nov. 8, 22.
 Dec. 20^m, 27.
1812. Jan. 3, 10^m, 31.
 Feb. 7, 28.
 Mar. 13.
 Apr. 10, 24.
 May 1, 8.
 June 5, 12.
 July 17, 24.
 Aug. 21, 28.
 Oct. 9, 16, 23, 30.
 Nov. 13.
1813. Jan. 1, 15, 22.
 Feb. 5, 26.
 Mar. 12, 19, 26.
 Apr. 9, 16.
 June 4, 11.
 July 23.
 Aug. 6, 13.
 Oct. 8.
 Nov. 5, 27.
 Dec. 17, 31.
1814. Apr. 22.
 May 6.
 Aug. 5.
 Sept. 30.
1815. Aug. 25.
 Dec. 8, 22.
1817. Jan. 3.

[Raleigh] *Star*, 1808-1820+.

Weekly. Established Nov. 3, 1808, by Jones & Henderson (—— Jones and Thomas Henderson, Jun.), with the title of "The Star." With the issue of Apr. 20, 1809, the paper was published by Thomas Henderson,

Jun. for self & Co. With the issue of Jan. 5, 1816, the title was altered to "The Star, and North-Carolina State Gazette." It was so continued by Henderson until after 1820.

N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Nov. 10, 1808-Dec. 27, 1810; July 2, 1813-Dec. 29, 1820. Trinity Coll. Hist. Soc., Durham, has Jan. 18-Dec. 27, 1810. Univ. of N. C. has Jan. 3, 1811-Dec. 24, 1813. N. C. State Lib. has Jan. 19-Feb. 23, Mar. 9-May 11, June 1, 29-Aug. 3, 31-Nov. 9, 23-Dec. 28, 1809; Jan. 4-Apr. 5, 19-May 31, 1810; Feb. 7, 1811-Dec. 18, 1812; Apr. 16, 23, May 7, 21-Aug. 20, Sept. 3-Nov. 26, 1813; Jan. 6-Dec. 29, 1815; Apr. 16-Oct. 22, 1819. Wis. Hist. Soc. has Feb. 15, 1810. Lib. Congress has Apr. 19, 1811; Aug. 9, 1816. A. A. S. has:

- 1809. Oct. 19.
Nov. 16^m.
- 1810. Apr. 12, 19, 26.
May 3^m, 24^m.
June 7^m, 28.
July 19.
Sept. 6^m, 13, 20, 27.
Nov. 22.
- 1811. Jan. 3.
Feb. 14, 28.
Mar. 7, 14.
May 3, 17.
Oct. 4.
- 1812. June 19.
July 10^m, 17.
- 1813. Aug. 13.
- 1817. July 18, 25.

[Salisbury] *North-Carolina Mercury*, 1798-1801.

Weekly. Established in May, 1798, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of July 27, 1799, vol. 2, no. 62, published by Francis Coupee, with the title of "The North-Carolina Mercury, and Salisbury

Advertiser." The last issue located is that of Aug. 13, 1801, vol. 4, no. 168.

Univ. of N. C. has July 27, 1799. Trinity Coll. Hist. Soc., Durham, has Dec. 5-26, 1799; Jan. 16, 23, Feb. 27, Mar. 20, Apr. 10, May 1, 8, June 12-26, July 31, Aug. 21-Sept. 4, 23, Oct. 9, 18, 30, 1800; Apr. 23-May 7, 28-June 11, 25-July 9, 23, 30, Aug. 13, 1801. Lib. Congress has Jan. 29, 1801.

[Salisbury] *Western Carolinian*, 1820+.

Weekly. Issues of the "*Western Carolinian*" from June 13, 1820 to 1823 are quoted in C. L. Coon's "*N. C. Schools and Academies*," 1915, pp. 10, 352-365, but these issues cannot now be located. They were published by Krider & Bingham (—Krider and Lemuel Bingham).

[Warrenton] *North Carolina Messenger*, 1804.

There is a reference in the "*Raleigh Register*" of Jan. 30, 1804, to the printing-office of Richard Davison at Warrenton. In the "*Raleigh Register*" of Nov. 22, 1804, Davison advertises that his printing-office was entirely burned out on Nov. 10, and that he hopes to resume publication of his paper, the *North Carolina Messenger*. No copy of this paper, however, has been located.

[Washington] *American Recorder*, 1815-1820+.

Weekly. Established Apr. 21, 1815, by I [John] M'Williams, with the title of "*American Recorder*," and so continued until after 1820.

Lib. Congress has June 2, 1815; Aug. 23, Sept. 13, Dec. 13, 1816; July 3, 10, 1818; Jan. 8-July 30, Nov. 19, 1819. A. A. S. has:

- 1815. Apr. 28.
- May 5.
- June 30.
- July 7, 28^m.
- Aug. 25.
- Sept. 1.
- 1816. Jan. 19.
- Mar. 15.
- Apr. 5, 19.

ington Gazette, 1806-1808.

Weekly. Established in November, 1806, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Oct. 4, 1808, vol. 2, no. 97, published by Thomas Alderson, Jun., with the title of "Washington Gazette. And Weekly Advertiser." The last issue located is that of Nov. 29, 1808, vol. 2, no. 105.

1808. Oct. 4, 11, 18.

Nov. 1, 22, 29.

Wilmington] Cape-Fear Herald, 1802-1803.

Weekly. In "The North-Carolina Minerva" of Nov. 30, 1802, there is an advertisement, signed by Boylan & Ray, stating that "The Cape-Fear Herald" will be established at Wilmington about Dec. 10, 1802. In the same paper of Jan. 18, 1803, is a quotation from "The Cape-Fear Herald." No copy located.

Wilmington] Cape-Fear Mercury, 1769-1775.

Weekly. Established Oct. 13, 1769, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Nov. 24, 1769, no. 7, published by A[dam] Boyd, with the title of "The Cape-Fear Mercury." The paper was suspended in 1774, and the Wilmington Committee of Safety, on Jan. 30, 1775, voted to encourage Adam Boyd in continuing his newspaper, "some time ago laid aside" (N. C. Colonial Records, vol. 9, p. 1118). Judging from the volume numbering, it was suspended for about five months from the fall of 1774 to the spring of 1775. The last issue located is that of Sept. 1, 1775, no. 270. It evidently was soon afterward discontinued, as Boyd was commissioned in the Continental service in January, 1776. What purported to be an issue of this paper of June 3, 1775, a palpable forgery, was exploited in 1905, and was exposed in the American Historical Review of April, 1906, vol. 11, no. 548, where photographs of several issues are reproduced.

Mass. Hist. Soc. has Mar. 9, 1770, Supplement. Univ. of N. C. has Sept. 22, 1773. British Pub. Rec. Office has Dec. 29, 1773; July 28, Aug. 4, 11, 25, Sept. 1, 1775.

A. A. S. has:

1769. Nov. 24.

[Wilmington] Cape-Fear Recorder, 1816-1820+.

Weekly. Established May 13, 1816, by **Thomas Loring**, with the title of "The Cape-Fear Recorder." In 1817, or early in 1818, the paper was printed by **William Hollinshead**, for **Thomas Loring**. At some time between Nov. 28, 1818, and Nov. 4, 1820, it was printed by **Wm. Hollinshead**, for **David Smith, Jr.** Continued until after 1820.

Mass. Hist. Soc. has Nov. 28, 1818. A. A. S. has:

1816. May 20, 27.

June 3, 10, 17.

Oct. 28.

Nov. 4, 9, 16, 23, 30.

Dec. 7.

1818. May 9.

1820. Nov. 4^m.

Wilmington Centinel, 1788.

Weekly. Established Mar. 5, 1788, judging from the date of the first and only issue located, that of June 18, 1788, vol. 1, no. 16, published by **Bowen and Howard** (——— **Bowen** and ——— **Howard**), with the title of "The Wilmington Centinel, and General Advertiser."

A. A. S. has:

1788. June 18.

Wilmington Chronicle, 1795-1796.

Weekly. Established July 3, 1795, by **James Carey**, with the title of "The Wilmington Chronicle: and North-Carolina Weekly Advertiser." At some time between Oct. 22, 1795, and Feb. 4, 1796, Carey was succeeded as publisher by **John Bellew**, who continued the paper to the time of the last issue located, that of Aug. 4, 1796, vol. 3, no. 4.

Harvard has July 3, 10, 17, 31, Sept. 24, 1795; Feb. 4, Apr. 14, Aug. 4, 1796. A. A. S. has:

1795. Oct. 22^m.

ington Gazette, 1799-1816.

Weekly. A continuation, without change of volume numbering, of "Hall's Wilmington Gazette." Although the change of title, judging from advertisements in previous issues, occurred on Jan. 3, 1799, the earliest issue located with the new title of "The Wilmington Gazette" is that of Mar. 7, 1799, vol. 3, no. 113, published by Allmand Hall. At some time between Aug. 14, 1800, and Feb. 4, 1802, the title was altered to "Wilmington Gazette." With the issue of Jan. 3, 1804, Samuel W. Clark was admitted to partnership, and the paper was published by A. Hall and S. W. Clark. In June, 1804, Allmand Hall again became sole publisher. In September, 1806, the title reverted to "The Wilmington Gazette." With the issue of Oct. 11, 1808, William S. Hasell purchased the paper and became publisher. In the early part of 1810, ——— Magrath was admitted to partnership, and the paper was published by Hasell & Magrath, but at some time between July 24, 1810, and May 12, 1812, William S. Hasell again became sole publisher. Hasell died Oct. 6, 1815, and was succeeded by the firm of Macalester & Loring (——— Macalester and Thomas Loring) and the title was changed to "Wilmington Gazette, Commercial and Political." The earliest issue located bearing their imprint, and also the last issue located, is that of Jan. 13, 1816, vol. 12, no. 975.

Harvard has Mar. 7, Apr. 4, 19, June 13, Aug. 8, Sept. 5, Oct. 3-17, 31, Dec. 12, 1799; Jan. 2-Aug. 14, 1800, scattering; Feb. 4, Mar. 18-Apr. 1, 15, May 13, 20, June 3, Dec. 2-30, 1802; Jan. 6, 1803-Dec. 30, 1806, scattering file; June 28, 1808. Lib. Congress has Sept. 29, Dec. 15, 1807. Wis. Hist. Soc. has June 7, 1808. A. A. S. has:

1803. Feb. 10^m.
June 9, 30.
July 26.

1804. Jan. 3, 10, 17.
Feb. 7, 21, 28.
Mar. 6, 13.

- 1804.** May 1, 15.
July 24.
Aug. 7, 14, 21.
Sept. 4, 18.
Oct. 16, 23.
Nov. 6, 27.
Dec. 4, 25.
- 1805.** Jan. 8, 15.
Feb. 19, 26.
Apr. 30.
June 4.
Oct. 22.
Dec. 3.
- 1806.** Apr. 15, 22, 29.
June 3.
July 8, 15.
Sept. 16.
Nov. 25.
Dec. 2, 9, 16, 30.
- 1807.** Jan. 6, 20, 27.
Feb. 3, 17.
Mar. 3, 10, 24.
Apr. 21, 28.
May 12^m.
June 2, 23, 30.
July 7, 14, 21, 28.
Aug. 11.
- 1808.** July 12.
Aug. 9, 23^m.
Oct. 11, 18, 25.
Nov. 8, 15, 22.
- 1809.** Jan. 3.
Mar. 14.
May 23.
- 1810.** Jan. 2.
June 19, 26.
July 17^m, 24.

1812. May 12.

Aug. 25.

1814. Apr. 12.

1816. Jan. 13.

[Wilmington] Hall's Wilmington Gazette, 1797-1798.

Weekly. Established Jan. 5, 1797, by Allmand Hall, with the title of "Hall's Wilmington Gazette." Hall's name did not appear in the imprint, but in the "North-Carolina Gazette" of Newbern, of Jan. 21, 1797, Allmand Hall had an advertisement, dated Jan. 5, stating that he had purchased the printing-office of the late John Bellew and had begun the printing of a newspaper. In the first week of January, 1799, the title was changed to "The Wilmington Gazette," which see.

Harvard has Feb. 9, 16, Mar. 2, 23-Apr. 6, 20, June 8, Sept. 7-Oct. 12, 26, Nov. 3, 1797; Feb. 8, 22, Mar. 8, Apr. 12, May 31, June 21, Oct. 11, Nov. 15, 1798. Univ. of N. C. has Aug. 24, 1797. A. A. S. has:

1798. Mar. 29.

Aug. 30.

Nov. 15, 29.

[Wilmington] North-Carolina Gazette, 1764-1766.

Weekly. Established in October, 1764, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Nov. 20, 1765, no. 58, published by Andrew Steuart, with the title of "The North-Carolina Gazette and Weekly Post-Boy." The last issue located is that of Feb. 26, 1766, no. 72.

British Public Record Office, London, has Nov. 20, 27, 1765; Feb. 12, 26, 1766. N. C. Hist. Comm., Raleigh, and Mass. Hist. Soc. have Nov. 20, 1765, "Continuation" of 7 pages.

[Wilmington] True Republican, 1809.

Weekly. Established Jan. 3, 1809, by Thomas Watson & Salmon Hall, with the title of "The True Republican, or American Whig." With the issue of Mar. 7, 1809, Hall was replaced by ——— Ramsey, the firm name be-

coming Watson & Ramsey. At some time between July 4 and Nov. 7, 1809, Thomas Watson became sole publisher. The last issue located is that of Nov. 7, 1809, vol. 1, no. 45, and the paper was soon discontinued, as Watson changed the title of his paper at Newbern to "The True Republican" in March, 1810.

A. A. S. has:

1809. Jan. 3, 10, 17, 24.
Feb. 14, 21, 28.
Mar. 7, 14, 21.
Apr. 18.
May 2, 9, 16, 23.
June 6, 20.
July 4.
Nov. 7^m.
Extra: Jan. 10.

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